

THE CHILD
AND HIS FAMILY

UNDER THE EDITORSHIP OF
GARDNER MURPHY
Columbia University

THE CHILD AND HIS FAMILY

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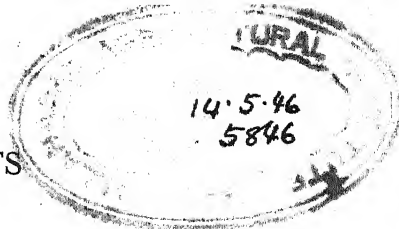
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CONTENTS



PREFACE	vii
INTRODUCTION	I
Problems, Method and Scope of the Study of Family Life Undertaken by the Vienna Psychological Insti- tute	I
Material and Procedure	6
PART I. PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS	
I. GENERAL ASPECTS OF PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS	27
Characteristics of Parent-Child Contacts	27
Contact Situations and Purposes	44
The Rôle of Individual Members of the Household	52
The Reactions of Parents and Children	54
The Means of Establishing Contacts	57
II. THE INDIVIDUAL FAMILIES	60
The Ambros Family	60
The Burian Family	71
The Cermak Family	82
The Dostal Family	91
The Erhardt Family	96
The Fabian Family	100
Summary and Conclusions	108
PART II. SIBLING RELATIONS	
III. GENERAL ASPECTS OF SIBLING RELATIONS	115
Characteristic Tendencies	115
The Classification and Its Reliability	120
General Characteristics of Sibling Contacts	123

IV. THE INDIVIDUAL SIBLING PAIRS	130
Erna and Käthe	131
Gertrud and Steffi	143
Ilse and Berthold	148
Alfred and Susi	159
Ada and Rudi	163
Herta and Lizzi	167
V. SUMMARY OF SIBLING RELATIONS	170
APPENDIX: THE PROBLEM OF OBEDIENCE, by Sophie Gedeon	178
INDEX	183

PREFACE

The Child and His Family has as its general purpose the investigation of the mutual relations between the child and his family, and, more generally, the child's life within the family circle. The study is based on accurate records of events occurring in individual homes during prolonged observation periods. Many specially trained collaborators were needed to collect the data, and many more to evaluate the results.

The information on which our work is based was collected between November, 1931, and August, 1933. Observations in seventeen homes were made by the following collaborators: Hildegard Adelberg, Edeltrud Baar, Anny Blitz, Dr. Lotte Danzinger-Schenk, Dr. Liselotte Frankl, Dr. Irma Gindl, Dr. Sophie Gedeon, Franz Xavier Hollensteiner, Gertrud Hortner, Dr. Maria Maudry, Dr. Eleonore Plischke, Dr. Ellen Nora Ryan, and Eduard Ulbrich.

The interpretations of the collected material were contributed primarily by Dr. Sophie Gedeon, Dr. Lotte Danzinger-Schenk, and myself. Dr. Gedeon, First Assistant in the Psychological Institute of the University of Athens, worked with us for a year. She first conceived the method of grouping and classifying our data, and studied independently the parents' spontaneous approaches to their children. In addition, she classified and tabulated the children's reactions. Dr. Danzinger, co-director of our Parents Association Institute in London, investigated the children's spontaneous approaches. My sincerest thanks go first of all to these two independent and tireless collaborators. Further assistance in classification, tabulation, and statistical evaluation was rendered by Edeltrud Baar, Gertrud Falk, Elise Hammer, Ilse Hellmann, Maria Hertz, Gertrud Hortner, Rudolf Gröger, Maria Nekula, and Maria Synck.

Dr. Norbert Thumb, Assistant at the Psychotechnical Institute of Vienna, and Dr. Maria Maudry, now Professor of Psychology at Fordham University, New York, assumed the

responsibility for the statistical treatment of our tables. To all these industrious helpers, I am truly grateful.

Finally, I am deeply appreciative of the permission granted by the different families to visit and observe them, and of the generous assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation, which made possible the collection and evaluation of data on such a large scale.

Vienna, Summer, 1937.

CHARLOTTE BÜHLER

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INTRODUCTION

I. PROBLEMS, METHODS AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY OF FAMILY LIFE UNDERTAKEN BY THE VIENNA PSYCHOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

THE title of this book, *The Child and His Family*, might arouse the erroneous hope and expectation that we are about to present entirely new revelations concerning the relations between the child and his family. This, be it said at the outset, is not the case, nor was it the purpose of our investigations. Our study has and claims a methodological significance only; it attempts to apply exact methods to problems which have hitherto been approached only descriptively.

The child's environment, its influence on him and on his character development, have in the past been described in anecdotal terms. A more precise approach, based on a classification of defined behavior units, has never been undertaken. The present study is a first attempt in this direction and demonstrates a method whereby the mutual relations between individuals may be evaluated quantitatively. (Even though at present our material is still limited in scope and we may claim only a heuristic value for our results, this preliminary study shows that it is possible to describe in quantitative terms the atmosphere and basic social structure of family life. In several homes, the mutual relations of parents and children and of siblings were studied on the basis of exact records of all events occurring in those families. This was done by tabulating defined units of contact in their qualitative characteristics. Thus the principal result of our study lies in demonstrating a new approach to these relations and the possibility of studying them by exact methods, rather than in investigating their contents.

We plan to continue our research along these lines in order to

study, on the basis of a considerably increased body of material, the various structures of family life, their influence on the child, the mutual relations of the child and various members of his family and household, and their respective effects on his development. From these data we hope to be able to draw conclusions with regard to the child's social life in the home, his personal relations to different members of the family, the kinds of stimuli which they provide for each other, the development of his spontaneous interests, the educational situation, etc.

At the same time, we hope to make a new and fruitful attack on another problem by the method which we developed and which will be discussed below. This involves the development of the child's character and the larger problem of the formation of character in general.¹

Our technique constitutes the distinctly new element of our study and it alone has made possible our comprehensive program. It was necessary to develop a new method because of our general objection to previous studies of character. None of these, it seems to us, has ever succeeded in adequately describing the *development* of character. Whether using anamneses, experiments, or observations, they selected a certain *stage* in that development, and only the better ones among them made an attempt at *reconstructing* preceding events. However, the crucial problems in an investigation of character are the developmental process itself, the conditions which cause the appearance of certain traits in the individual, and the question of distinguishing constant from variable tendencies. It seemed, therefore, necessary to devise a method which would enable us to observe this development directly and to record details of the individual's behavior toward different people or while engaged in various activities in different situations. Thus we should be able to note the constancy of certain behavior traits and the modification of others, the child's submission to certain influences and his technique of resisting others, etc. After considerable preliminary work and experimentation, we adopted the following method.

Experienced child psychologists were trained in our method

¹ In this connection, we mean by "character" the more or less constant and basic individual personality traits.

of carefully observing activities and conversations and in the technique of recording them with considerable accuracy at the conclusion of the observation period. For example, they learned to watch a child at play, take part in his activities, and carry on a conversation with him for an hour, and to write down afterward a detailed account of his behavior. The degree of accuracy attainable in these records was determined by comparing two of them, made independently by different observers, and was found satisfactory for statistical purposes (see Table 3, page 10).

The families selected declared their willingness to receive our observers in their homes twice a week at various times of the day, during periods ranging from three months to one-half year. Care was taken to assign each observer to the families into which she would fit most easily, and frequently families already known to her were selected for study. The observers took an active part in family life during their visits. They accompanied mother and child on their walks, ate their meals with them, were present when school work was being done or household duties performed, and when the children got up or went to bed. In these activities they participated like any other member of the household. Because of their friendly and helpful attitude, the children and their parents always looked forward to these visits. In fact, most families forgot the scientific purpose of our observers' presence and acted as if they were members of the family, especially because they took no notes during their visits. One or two homes which were exceptions in this respect were eliminated from further study. In this manner, twelve observers visited seventeen families and studied thirty children.

To avoid extreme situations at the outset of our work, we chose upper middle-class families with from one to three children each. Children of school age were used because we desired to test our method under complex conditions, that is to say, with children who could be expected to engage in considerable conversation. In some cases, we observed siblings in their relations to each other; in others, one of the children in relation to his parents. Only when siblings were together most of the time was it found possible to study simultaneously both types of relations.

TABLE I.—

Family	Father's Occupation	Names of Children	Ages at Start of Observation	Maid	Other Members of Household
1	Merchant	Gertrud	6.3	Yes	—
		Steffi	2.9		
2	Government Employee	Fritz	13.2	No	—
		Erna	10.9		
		Käthe	6.10		
3	Architect	Ilse	10.10	Yes	—
		Berthold	8.6		
4	Merchant	Heinz	6.10	Yes	Nurse
		Liesl	2.10		
5	Industrialist	Hans	8.6	Yes	Grandmother
6	High School Teacher	Rudi	9.3	No	Grandmother
	M: Housework	Ada	12.2		
7	Physician	Lizzi	8.4	Yes	Nurse
		Herta	8.4		
8	Industrialist	Susi	12.5	Yes	Various
		Alfred	12.5		Servants
9	High School Teacher	Nanni	1.4	Yes	Grandmother, aunt
10	Government Employee	Ruppert	1.10	No	Grandmother, aunt
		Berthold	0.9		
11	Business Man	Lilly	20	Yes	—
		Mietze	10.1		
12	Mother: none	Erika	22	No	—
		Werner	9.6		
13	Lawyer	Eva	9.4	Yes	—
		Ernst	2.6		
14	Landowner	Gaston	12.2	Yes	Nurse, grand-
		Peter	9.3		parents, serv-
					ants
15	Writer	Barbara	10.10	Yes	—
		Ton	8		
		Dave	5		
16	Physician	Kate	6.5	Yes	Nurse, aunt
		Amy	4.5		
17	Government Employee	Grete	13.5	Yes	—
		Gerhard	15		

THE MATERIAL

Persons Observed	Period of Observation	Remarks
F, M, maid, Gertrud, Steffi	November 12, 1931-	Father deaf
F, M, Erna, Käthe	February 18, 1932	
	April 13, 1932-	
	June 29, 1932	
F, M, Ilse, Berthold	November 20, 1932-	Parents separated
M, nurse, Heinz	February 27, 1933	
F, M, Hans	March 31, 1932-	
	July 2, 1932	
M, grandmother, Rudi	May 12, 1932-	Mother very nervous
M, nurse, Lizzi, Herta	July 7, 1932	
F, M, Susi, Alfred	April 21, 1932-	
	May 26, 1932	
M, grandmother, Nanni	May 9, 1933-	Parents separated
	July 11, 1933	
	July 7, 1933-	
F, M, aunt, grandmother	August 30, 1933	Father deceased
Ruppert, Berthold	November 10, 1931-	
F, M, Mietze	June 13, 1932	
	November 21, 1931-	Stepbrothers, living in the country
	March 19, 1932	
	April 10, 1932-	
M, Werner	May 20, 1932	Children speak English and German
M, Eva, Ernst	February 2, 1933-	
	April 19, 1933	
F, M, grandparents, Gas-	April 15, 1933-	Children speak English and German
ton, Peter	July 15, 1933	
	November 21, 1931-	
	March 19, 1932	
F, M, Barbara, Ton, Dave	December, 1932-	Children speak English and German
	May, 1933	
F, M, nurse, Kate, Amy	December, 1932-	Children speak English and German
	May, 1933	
F, M, Grete	November 16, 1932-	
	November 27, 1932	

To prevent as far as possible any artificiality of behavior, we did not tell the parents that they as well as their children were being observed, but described our study as an investigation of the behavior of youngsters in their normal home environment. Since our presence did not influence the adults' activities and movements, we were unable to study the father's rôle to the same extent as the mother's, because in most of the families the father was frequently absent. In some cases, however, we could compare both influences. Two families were of special interest because the father lived apart from the other individuals. In general, family structures which were unnatural in this respect were avoided. Two classifications prevailed in our treatment of the considerable body of data collected in this manner. These were *sibling relations* and *parent-child relations*.

Because at the present time our material is not exhaustive enough to permit general conclusions to be drawn from our results, we are emphasizing primarily the methods used in our research and our interpretations. This book describes a new and, we believe, promising procedure for observing the factual bases of human relations with relatively great accuracy. However, our technique needs further refinement and our material considerable amplification. Hence, we do not attribute any significance to our results apart from the cases from which they were obtained.

II. MATERIAL AND PROCEDURE

1. *The Material*.—Our data consist of records describing, as accurately as possible, life situations in terms of activities and conversations. The principal characteristics of the families which we observed and of the material which we collected are shown in Table 1.

In the present study, we shall discuss in detail the first eight families in the above table. They enabled us to observe the parent-child and sibling relations shown in Table 2.

These families may be briefly described as follows:

Family 1. *Ambros*. Children: Gertrud (age 6.3) and Steffi (age 2.9).
(Members of household: father, mother, one maid. Economic con-

TABLE 2.—PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS AND SIBLING RELATIONS

Family	Parent-child Relations				Sibling Relations	
	Parents	Age	Children	Age Range During Observation	Children	Age Range During Observation
1. Ambros	Father Mother	38 32	Gertrud Steffi	6.3 - 6.6 2.9 - 3.0	Gertrud Steffi	6.3 - 6.6 2.9 - 3.0
2. Burian	Father Mother	49 39	Erna Käthe (Fritz) ^a	10.9 - 11.0 6.10- 7.1 13.2 - 13.5	Erna Käthe	10.9 - 11.0 6.10- 7.1
3. Cermak	Father Mother	47 34	Ilse Berthold	10.10-11.1 8.6 - 8.9	Ilse Berthold	10.10-11.1 8.6 - 8.9
4. Dostal	Father Mother	36 28	Heinz (Liesl)	6.10- 7.3 2.10- 3.3		
5. Erhardt	Father Mother	48 29	Hans	8.6 - 8.8		
6. Fabian	Father Mother	64 43	(Ada) Rudi	12.2 - 12.4 9.3 - 9.5	Ada Rudi	12.2 - 12.4 9.3 - 9.5
7. Gärtner					Lizzi Hertha	8.4 - 8.7 8.4 - 8.7
8. Hart					Susi Alfred	12.5 - 12.7 12.5 - 12.7

^a Names in parentheses are those of children who were not under observation.

dition favorable. Parents quite superior mentally and culturally, having many artistic, social and athletic interests. Parents treat children kindly, try to be their pals. The father especially succeeds in arousing the children's interests, particularly Gertrud's, but has a slight tendency to spoil them. The maid takes an active part in influencing the children's behavior.)

Family 2. *Burian*. Children: Käthe (age 6.10) and Erna (age 10.9). Members of family: father, mother, older brother Fritz (age 13). Fritz rarely home. Family lives simply, though economic position favorable. No maid; children, especially Erna, expected to per-

form many household chores. Family's attitude pronouncedly domestic. Children go out very infrequently, receive little outside stimulation; their life is quite monotonous. Father almost completely deaf; his authority undisputed. He tries to stimulate the children by constructing toys and through photography. Children rather independent. Family lives in suburb, enjoying rural freedom in many respects.)

Family 3. *Cermak*. Children: Ilse (age 10.10) and Berthold (age 8.6).

Members of household: father, mother, one maid. Father influences children markedly more than mother. He approaches them with a sense of humor, putting even his reprimands in a joking form, so he will be considered a pal rather than a parent. He takes a leading part in their activities, especially those of an athletic nature. Mother devotes herself primarily to their physical care and the supervision of their school work, without having much influence on their play activities and intellectual interests. Economic circumstances secure; relations of parents very favorable.

Family 4. *Dostal*. Children: Heinz (age 6.10) and Liesl (age 2.10).

Members of household: father, mother, nurse, one maid. Heinz monopolizes the observations by extraordinary activeness. Children often separated; Liesl cannot be observed satisfactorily. Economic condition very favorable. Mother has many social interests, leaves education of children almost completely to nurse, whose intellectual and educational level is very high. Being much interested in educational theory, mother discusses training methods with nurse. Father rarely sees children during week; on Sundays, he occupies himself intensively with Heinz, who is particularly fond of him. Both children are very spoiled; relations between parents excellent.

Family 5. *Erhardt*. Child: Hans (age 8.6). Members of household:

father, mother, grandmother, one maid. Economic position very favorable. Both parents occupy themselves with Hans, with distinct division of spheres of influence. Mother looks after physical care, school work and general behavior, and tends to spoil him; father provides intellectual stimulation, considers him his pal. Father is home most of the time; Hans comes to him with all his problems. Relations with grandmother good; she lives in the home, but appears only at meal times. Considerable age difference with her husband and lack of social activity have depressed the mother somewhat, though it is doubtful that this is noticed by Hans.

Family 6. *Fabian*. Children: Ada (age 12.2) and Rudi (age 9.3). Members of family: mother and grandmother. Family is incomplete: father and mother are separated. Grandmother responsible for running household. Living quarters small, budget limited. Mother takes in work (embroidery); children often left to their own devices, unusually mature for their age. They share the adults' economic worries and have fair insight in financial conditions. Their interests are those of the adults. Socially undesirable behavior often results from the frequent disagreements between the adults.

Family 7. *Gärtner*. Children: Lizzi and Hertha (twins, age 8.4). Members of household: father, mother, nurse, one maid. Parents well-to-do, both practicing medicine. Strong emphasis on hygiene; children well taken care of physically. Except for supervising their school work, mother makes no attempt to establish intimate relations with the girls, who spend most of their time with the nurse.

Family 8. *Hart*. Children: Alfred and Susi (twins, age 12.5). Members of household: father, mother, two maids, additional servants. Wealthy family, living in a villa in a suburb. Both children are much more attached to their father than to their mother. The latter is extremely nervous and does not know how to get along with children. Always putting herself in the foreground, she ignores their inclinations and dominates the household by her whims. Relations of parents are strained. Father absent from home frequently; he lacks authority. Children often take his side in parental arguments.

2. *The Procedure of Collecting Information*.—In these homes, the desired information was acquired in the following manner. An observer visited the same family regularly for several weeks or months, at different times of the day. She took part in the regular family life during those visits, playing and eating with the children and assisting with the housework. Though this arrangement assured to a large extent the normal course of family life, it was unavoidable that the observer attracted the children's attention more than was desirable. They anticipated her visits with special pleasure and occupied themselves with her to a considerable extent, telling her stories, showing her things, and asking her questions. In many cases, up to 50 per

cent of the children's conversations consisted of talking to the observer. For the present, we have eliminated from consideration these contacts with the observer. Although this resulted in the loss of much interesting material, it appeared desirable, because we were primarily interested in the relations between parents and children and between siblings. Outside of this lively interest in the observer, the behavior of these families was quite normal. Two families who chose their educational methods with particular care and consideration in the presence of the observer, were eliminated from further study.

We have already stated that no notes were taken during the observation periods. This necessarily involved omissions and inaccuracies, in addition to those caused by the difficulty of gaining an adequate understanding of a situation in a single observation. The technique of reproducing conversations accurately at the conclusion of an observation period required considerable preliminary training. The next section will show that not taking notes did not prevent a measure of reliability which seemed to us sufficient for gross statistical purposes.

Unless otherwise indicated, the records used in the present study covered fifteen hours of observation.

3. *The Reliability of Our Records.*—To determine the reliability of our data, we studied the extent of agreement between the records of different observers. In several cases, we arranged for two observers to be present at the same time to record independently and in the prescribed fashion the activities of the persons under observation and the contacts which they es-

TABLE 3.—THE RELIABILITY OF OBSERVATION RECORDS

Type of Behavior	Observers	Total Number of Events Observed	Number Events Occurring on Both Lists	Per Cent Agreement
Contacts with others	A and B	143	108	76.5
Contacts with others	C and D	115	96	83.5
Individual activities	A and B	94	62	65.8
Individual activities	C and D	102	82	80.4

tablished with each other. Table 3 affords a comparison of some of these records, constituting a measure of the reliability of our method. Only the extreme cases, showing the range of agreement, are given.

Agreement between observations made by different persons ranged from 66 to 83 per cent, which may be considered adequate, since 60 per cent constitutes the permissible minimum.

4. *The Interpretation of Our Data and the Problem of Classifying Activities.*—Isolated data become significant only if a usable classification can be worked out under which they can be arranged and tabulated. The bases on which the available material is classified depend on the purposes for which it is to be used. Our first aim, be it remembered, was to study the relations between parents and children and between siblings; our second, to lay the foundation for a better understanding of character development, beginning with that of the child. The material at our disposal consisted of records of our subjects' activities and of the contacts which they established with each other by means of joint activities and conversations. An accurate analysis of these data into measurable units was of supreme importance to our results if they were to have any meaning, and hence this received the most careful consideration.

This analysis involves one of the most complicated problems of modern psychology. Originally, the behaviorists insisted that each reflex forming a component part of an activity should be isolated and considered separately in an accurate observation of behavior. We have shown elsewhere² that such a postulate not only is incapable of being fulfilled and has never been fulfilled by anyone, but is, in fact, inconsistent with the meaning and functions of psychology. The essential psychological units are not *reflexes*, whether occurring in a chain formation or grouped together in structural units, but *activities*.³

From the physiological point of view, man's behavior may

² Charlotte Bühler, *From Birth to Maturity*. London, Kegan Paul, 1935.

³ I have previously expressed this by saying that the basic psychological units are *achievements* and that their characteristic feature is the *result obtained*. Since, however, a reflex also achieves a certain result, I have abandoned my earlier formulation. A theoretical monograph, "Activity as a Psychological Unit," is in preparation.

possibly be adequately described in terms of responses to stimuli, but from the psychologist's point of view, man is *active*. This activity differs by definition from a simple response in that it centers around an *object*. By this we mean that what the physiologist calls a group or a chain of structure-forming or successive events, constitutes to the psychologist an entirely different type of unity, characterized by the object which forms the core of the activity.

In practice, everyone knows what an activity is. When one writes a letter, makes a call, spends the afternoon shopping, or even lies in the grass without doing anything else but squint at the sun, or goes driving without any particular purpose or goal, we speak of these types of behavior as *activities*. A mass of stimuli and responses combine to form the unit, "writing a letter," and innumerable events contribute to the afternoon's shopping trip; yet there is a psychologically relevant unifying factor present in the unit, "writing a letter," or "shopping," which is the hub of the many separate events.

Thus, every activity consists of a number of events, and the definition of the central objects determines the size and the number of units that can be distinguished. When, for instance, a child does several things in the course of an hour—plays with dolls, draws, runs around the room, etc.—we may consider "playing with dolls," "drawing," and "running around" units of behavior. We may also subdivide these larger units into smaller ones and tabulate separately each manipulation of the doll and the pencil, and each event in the activity, "running around." Looking at one's pencil constitutes an activity with regard to that object; so does picking it up, and again, putting its point on the paper. Whether we want to use smaller or larger units depends primarily on our problem and on the purpose of our study. In our records we have preserved as many details as possible, so that any type of classification could and can be made. When details of the child's behavior are of primary importance, they should be tabulated separately; but in the present study only larger units were used, because we were particularly interested in the contacts between adults and children and in those between siblings.

Consequently, whenever a child was active with regard to one and the same object, this activity was considered a single unit. For example,

Heinz goes to the toy closet, pushes the curtains aside, takes out the construction set, carries it to the table, takes out the blocks and sticks, and begins to build.

This series of events was considered a unit and labeled "playing with the construction set" because the child was occupied with this object without interruption. This unitary character is present only when the activity is continuous and connected. When interruptions occur or the object of the activity does not remain the same, several units are present. For example,

Käthe plays with her dolls. Her father is showing some pictures to the observer. Käthe interrupts her game and runs to her father to look at the pictures. Later she returns to her dolls.

In this case, "playing with dolls" was tabulated as two separate units, "looking at pictures" as a third. There are, of course, games entirely lacking in unitary character, consisting of a mere sequence of all sorts of activities, and involving a continuous change of object. This makes it necessary to tabulate each single activity separately, as was done in the following observation:

Heinz runs around the table, throws himself on the floor, kicks his legs, jumps around on all fours, saying, "Now I am a camel," crawls under the table, looks from between the legs of a chair, grasps the foot of the nurse who passes by.

"Running," "kicking," "playing camel," "crawling under the table" and "establishing contact with the nurse" were separate activities, since these types of behavior were not related by having a common central object. Each had its own objective core.

The quantitative enumeration of the child's relations with others presents greater difficulties than the tabulation of activities in which he engages by himself. In activities which are performed in conjunction with someone else, there is not

only an objective center of the activity, but also a person-as-object; this is equally true of conversations.

The relation established between one person and another we have called a *contact*. Usually, whether they consist of conversations or non-verbal activities, contacts contain several phases; at least, an approach and a response can always be distinguished when two persons are involved. *Approach* and *response* should be clearly distinguished, because it is important to know whether the child is responding to another's advances, or has taken the initiative in establishing the contact. Especially significant is this differentiation in connection with our attempt to determine the kinds of stimulation that originate with the child and those that are provided by his environment; the attitudes displayed by the child and those exhibited by his family; how often the child initiates a contact and how often he awaits the initiative of others, etc.⁴

5. *The Classification of Contacts*.—The only material that can be used to study the joint relations of individuals consists of their contacts with each other and their joint activities. The individual's activities which are unrelated to his social contacts cannot be used in this connection.⁵

It is evident that a criterion for classifying contacts must be selected before these data can be properly tabulated. The question arises as to what elements may be distinguished in them and which of these will be essential for the purpose of classification. The following examples of contacts initiated by the child will demonstrate the problem.

Gertrud changes her dress for an afternoon party and asks her mother: "Mummy, can I wear this dress to school tomorrow?"

Erna shows her mother a bouquet which she has fixed, saying: "Look, mummy, how nice it looks. Don't I have good taste?"

⁴ Martha Sturm has made interesting observations on the number of contacts initiated by the child and by his environment, and on the variation of this number with the child's age and the nature of his environment. See further, Hildegard Hetzer, "Die Entwicklung des Kindes in der Anstalt" (The Development of the Institutional Child), *Hdb. d. päd. Milieukunde*, 1932.

⁵ The data which we have obtained on the child's individual activities are used in other studies, especially in Edeltrud Baar's "Die geistige Welt des Schulkindes," *Quellen und Studien zur Jugendkunde*, 13, Jena, 1937.

Käthe is doing her school work. Suddenly she exclaims: "Oh look, mama, an inkblot. Rub it out for me!"

Rudi is leaving the house; suddenly, he turns around, embraces and kisses his mother, and tells her goodbye.

What criterion can we use to classify these units, so that we may study more closely the joint relations of parents and children? There are, as will be readily seen, several possibilities.

(a) In each of these contacts, the activity or the conversation centered definitely around an object. The dress, the bouquet, the inkblot, and the farewell, respectively, constituted the content or, to use a less ambiguous word, the *theme* of the various contacts. Thus is provided the first possibility: classifying contacts according to their theme.⁶

However, this is not accurate enough, nor is the theme the most important element in the mutual relations of individuals.

(b) Each contact had a particular form; in other words, everyone who initiated a contact used certain *means* to do so. In conversations, different verbal forms were chosen: questions, statements, exclamations, requests, etc. In non-verbal activities, some sort of contact-forming behavior was selected, such as Rudi's embrace. The majority of contacts between adults and children and between children with sufficient verbal development are initiated or supported by speech. Children, of course, engage more frequently than adults in non-verbal activities when initiating contacts or responding to approaches; seizing the other fellow, grappling, and friendly or unfriendly blows are generally known means of establishing or avoiding contacts. The means whereby contacts become established, then, are as important aspects as are their themes, especially in determining the relative importance of verbal and non-verbal activities in different families, the extent to which a family attempts to guide the child by refined or crude methods, whether commands or requests, encouragement or criticism prevail, etc. Part of our material has been studied from this point of view,⁷ and other monographs have been planned.

⁶ This has been done by Edeltrud Baar, *supra*.

⁷ Liselotte Frankl, "Lohn und Strafe in der Familienerziehung" (Reward and Punishment in Home Training), *Quellen und Studien zur Jugendkunde*, 12, Jena, 1935.

Though a study of the means whereby contacts are established is most interesting, they do not yet constitute the essential element in the child's mutual relations with his environment. These vital elements are contained in other aspects.

(c) The third aspect is the psychological *situation* in which the contact is established. By this is meant not the external situation—not whether contacts occur in the kitchen or the garden, the street or the bedroom—but whether they are established in a play or work situation, during social intercourse or dinner, or in some other sphere of the child's life.

We have found that an inventory of the child's different life situations is not very extensive. His life unfolds itself in relatively few situations, which may be classified under the following six headings: social intercourse, play activities, biological situations (eating, dressing, bathing), school and school work, domestic activities, and situations in the outside world (outside of home or school).

We shall see later that the situations which adults provide regularly for the child and those in which they establish the most intense and frequent contacts with him, determine to a considerable extent the characteristics of family life and of the contacts which the child initiates with others in his environment.

(d) The most essential aspects of a contact, its *purpose* and the *attitude* which it expresses, offer the greatest obstacles to scientific analysis. When human beings establish contacts with each other, they do so for certain reasons. They either want to give something to or take something away from each other, and they pursue their intentions with a very definite attitude toward their partner. The difficulty, however, is that these intended purposes and basic attitudes are not as objectively manifest as are the means and the theme of their contact and the situation in which it became established. These purposes and attitudes remain more or less hidden, and may be quite complex and even contradictory. In general, a mother's latent attitude toward her child may be one of love and affection, but at a particular moment her contact with him may be characterized by hatred or negative criticism. Again, she may be incapable

of expressing this loving attitude, or she may be pedagogically convinced that affection should not be overtly shown. For either reason, she may suppress or fail to express her innermost purposes.

Scientific methods of discovering the hidden multiplicity of obscure human relations and the different manifestations of human attitudes and purposes were first developed by the psychoanalysts. However, we are unable to accept the concepts and principles upon which their technique is based. Regardless of the fact that no adequate methods exist for determining the prevalence of purposes and attitudes at different levels of personality (except those conceptually and ideationally related to the analytical technique), we must and we want to limit ourselves to a much simpler procedure to find the purposes and attitudes contained in the child's contacts. In the present study, therefore, we have concentrated on those which were overtly expressed; even these have never before been studied. We shall see that this will lead to interesting and significant results when combined with our study of the means chosen to establish contacts and the situations in which they are made. Of course, it is no simple matter to investigate even these manifest aspects, for they can only be implied indirectly; they are never given directly or expressed in words. Even these superficial, acute and overt purposes and attitudes require careful consideration before we can work out units for their proper classification. We propose to undertake this on the basis of concrete examples.

Erna has fixed a bouquet which she shows her mother, saying: "Look, mummy, how well they go together. I put these ferns in because they look so well. I sure have good taste."

The conversation took place in a household situation; the means chosen to establish the contact was a statement. This is one of those rare instances in which a child expressed the purpose of her statement almost explicitly. She praised herself and asked her mother's approval of her own accomplishment. Without adding, "Don't you think?" she manifested her desire for admiration. The immediate purpose of her statement can

undoubtedly be described as "desire for approval." Of course, it was not possible to conclude from this verbal expression alone whether any indirect purposes existed in the background. Whether she attempted to get her mother in a favorable mood, to compensate for neglect and lack of consideration in other respects, or to outdo her sister who, allegedly, could not make such a pretty bouquet—these obscure purposes had to be ignored in this preliminary study. It was also impossible to determine, on the basis of this isolated statement, the child's attitude toward her mother. Though her remark, taken by itself and at its face value, demonstrated a definite attempt at establishing a contact, it failed to express her basic attitude.

Berthold says: "Ilse has a talent for skating. I don't. Not everybody can learn to skate backward, make circles and jump on skates."

The situation was one of social intercourse, and the means of establishing the contact a statement. Berthold's purpose was expressed in rather overt form: he praised his sister, recognized one of her accomplishments, and took her side before a third person. In addition, he made a comparison of her performance with his own, which was unfavorable to himself. Not only did he give his sister recognition, but he minimized the value of his own achievement in comparison with hers.

Again it was impossible to determine from this isolated remark whether any indirect purposes existed or what his basic attitude toward his sister might have been. But a comparison of his remarks and behavior in many other situations during several weeks' observation showed that he always aided and served his sister in practical ways, that he constantly admired her and never took sides against her. Hence, we could conclude from the larger context the existence of a basic positive attitude and of unlimited appreciation, free from all rivalry. Even without such a comparison, we shall see later that overtly expressed purposes alone may show us these relations in their true colors.

Father says: "Kurt is a nice boy, isn't he?"

Helmuth replies: "Kurt? He's no good."

The situation was one of social intercourse, and a statement

was the means chosen to initiate the contact. Its primary purpose was to bring about a conversation, which was responded to by Helmuth, though he did so by judging adversely a third person whom his father had praised. Apparently this was a conversation involving a critical reaction on the part of the child to an approving remark made by his father. Here, again, it was not possible to conclude directly the hidden purpose of the father's statement, which might have been made to hold Kurt up as an example to Helmuth, or merely as a harmless topic of conversation; nor can one be sure whether Helmuth belittled his friend in order to contradict his father, or expressed his true opinion of Kurt. We have to remain satisfied with the purposes which were overtly expressed; we cannot attempt to analyze further Helmuth's attitude or any possible hidden meaning that may have been present.

In this manner, the following distinctions can be made when contacts are considered in the light of their overt purposes and the attitudes which they express.

- a. Expressions of attitude in the form of statements in favor of or against another person, or a neutral position and a purely objective statement.
- b. Expressions of a purpose in the form of taking a positive or negative position toward another person, or an evasive or neutral position.
- c. Expressions of a purpose in the form of an objective intention involving another person. There are five variations of such intentions:

Social (concerning one's association with that person)

Pedagogical

Organizational (concerning the arrangement of the social order)

Charitable (attempts to be of service)

Economic (aimed at retaining or acquiring some value from the association).

A study of overt purposes shows that parent-child relations may contain any of the above intentions, and that it is highly

important to know which prevails in any given relation. On the other hand, their attitudes are usually hidden and cannot be evaluated as expressions of their purposes. In sibling relations, attitudes are usually overt; cases in which they remain unexpressed and a seemingly neutral attitude prevails are quite symptomatic. In these relations, objective purposes are less pronounced than in the former, because they are still vague in the child, and pedagogical and charitable purposes toward siblings are as yet undeveloped.

For these reasons, in the present study we have characterized sibling relations by the attitudes which they expressed, and parent-child relations by their overt purposes. The reliability of the interpretation of purposes from our records will be considered below.

6. *Contact Phases.*—Having determined criteria for classifying contacts, we now have to submit to further scrutiny the various parts of the process whereby contacts become established. A simple approach and response combination is called a unit of contact or a *two-phased contact*. These were by far the most frequent; but occasionally *multi-phased contacts* occurred, in which there was a repeated approach and response involving a single object or situation. Below are given some examples of multi-phased compared with two-phased contacts. Since multi-phased contacts represented only 6.17 per cent of all our data, in contrast to 93.83 per cent for two-phased contacts, we believe we are justified in considering only the first two phases in our tabulation of the former, since doing otherwise would have complicated our task considerably.

TWO-PHASED CONTACTS

Rudi joins his sister, who stands at the window, looking out. Rudi says: "Are you still here?" (Approach.) Ada does not answer. (Ignoring is also considered a response.)

Erna says: "Girls as little as Käthe cannot go to first communion, because they cannot read and would stutter." (Approach.) Käthe tells of several little girls who did go to first communion. (Response.)

Steffi is setting the table. Gertrud wants to help her. (Approach.) Steffi says: "Wait, I'll do it myself." (Response.)

MULTI-PHASED CONTACTS

Susi plays with Alfred, who suspects her of dishonesty, saying excitedly: "So you're cheating again." (First approach.)

Susi answers: "You're crazy; I caught you the last time." (First response.)

Alfred: "No, that isn't fair; I won't play any more." (Second approach, also second response.)

Third phase not considered.

Käthe wants to count off. (First approach.)

Erna refuses, wants to do it herself. (First response.)

Käthe agrees to this. (Second response.)

Third phase not considered.

Käthe says to Erna: "Give me your eraser." (First approach.)

Erna: "What do you want it for? You've got one of your own." (First response.)

Käthe: "But I want an ink-eraser." (Second approach, also second response.)

Erna: "Here you are." (Third approach, also third response.)

Phases 3 and 4 ignored in our tabulation.

Although the number of observation hours was approximately the same in all cases, there were considerable differences in the number of contacts established during that time, because of the fact that children showed significant individual variations in this respect. Unfortunately, our records for the sibling pair having the largest number of contacts (Alfred-Susi) are incomplete. Table 4 shows the extent of variation, which can be seen even more clearly in Table 5.

TABLE 4.—DURATION OF OBSERVATION PERIODS AND NUMBER OF CONTACTS

Sibling Pair	Duration of Observation	Number of Contacts
Käthe-Erna	27 hours, 55 minutes	300
Berthold-Ilse	22 " 20 "	249
Alfred-Susi	6 " 50 "	123
Rudi-Ada	23 " 55 "	190
Lizzi-Hertha	21 " 35 "	258
Gertrud-Steffi	20 " 4 "	157

In order to compare these data more adequately, we have reduced the observation periods to a common basis of ten hours, with the results shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5.—NUMBER OF CONTACTS PER
TEN OBSERVATION HOURS

Sibling Pair	Number of Contacts
Käthe-Erna	107
Berthold-Ilse	110
Alfred-Susi	180
Rudi-Ada	79
Lizzi-Hertha	120
Gertrud-Steffi	78

These tables show considerable individual differences, even when we ignore the pair for which our data were incomplete. It should be noted that the least social activity was reported for the pairs containing the youngest (Steffi) and the oldest (Ada) of our subjects. This fact will be discussed below.

7. *The Reliability of Our Interpretation.*—Our records were evaluated with the cooperation of several assistants, according to previously developed points of view. These were discussed with them in detail and the group undertook several joint interpretations before each member was assigned an individual problem.

To determine the reliability of these interpretations, five records of different children were submitted to four or five assistants. Their work was done independently after three conferences (lasting about six hours), in which difficult points were discussed. These records contained characteristic and evident situations. All the assistants performed their tasks conscientiously and carefully, and differences in their interpretations cannot be attributed to one or the other of them.

Seventy-nine contacts were evaluated (35 initiated by the child, 44 by the parents), three of which could not be definitely identified as contacts (in contrast to individual activities). The interpretations of the remaining 76 showed the following differences:

(a) Distinguishing approach and response	6 differences
(b) Classification	3 "
(c) Identifying the situation	15 " }
(d) Identifying the intended purpose	30 " }
Total	54 differences

The interpretation of purposes showed twice as many differences of opinion as that of the situations in which the contacts had been established. The former amounted to about 40 per cent, the latter to 20 per cent. This may have been due to the number of concepts used: we distinguished 6 situations as compared to 13 purposes, divided into 5 main groups. But it is likely that the interpretation of purposes is really more difficult than that of the other category.

Thirty-one of the 76 contacts (about 40 per cent) were judged with perfect agreement on all four points mentioned above; the other 45 cases presented from 2 to 3 differences of interpretation. It is possible that the reliability of our tables is greater or less than that of our sampling, which included only 3 per cent of all contacts recorded for these eight children and their parents during fifteen hours of observation.

In principle, then, overtly expressed purposes can be interpreted by a classification technique whose reliability might be insured if several workers collaborated. In the present study we had to be satisfied with an approximate reliability. American psychologists especially have ignored almost entirely the interpretation of purposes expressed in activities, because of its insufficient reliability. Though this has brought about a high reliability of the results obtained, it has also resulted in an extreme limitation of the scope and effectiveness of research. Stoddard and Wellman have criticized this aptly by saying that much has been done to develop reliable methods, but little to improve them.⁸ In the long run, social psychology and the study of social conduct become impossible if the purposes and attitudes expressed in human relations continue to be ignored, since they constitute the most essential elements. Furthermore, it is relatively useless to determine how often one child establishes

⁸ G. D. Stoddard and B. L. Wellman, *Child Psychology*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1935.

contact with another, without stating whether this was done with friendly or unfriendly intentions, for the purpose of taking something away from him or giving him something, attacking him or defending oneself, etc. Every effort should be made to make possible a reliable study of such elements as can be grasped only by interpretation.

In view of the extraordinary precision with which we react in everyday life to the intended purposes of other persons, it seems quite indefensible that psychology should ignore the study of these phenomena. Adult psychologists should be able to discover criteria for recognizing the child's purposes as expressed in his behavior, since, as Adela Poznanska has shown in a Viennese study, an eight-months-old child can recognize different play intentions in his mother's facial expressions and gestures and, as Hildegard Hetzer found in a second study, understands quite well whether his mother makes an angry face playfully or in earnest; since a kindergarten child feels and shows in his reactions that he understands whether someone approaches him with real affection or with affectation; and since a school child understands and shows in her reactions that she knows whether her mother makes her dry the dishes and clear the table for pedagogical reasons, or because she herself happens to be seated comfortably.

In a forthcoming methodological article we shall take the opportunity of discussing this matter in detail, as well as the whole problem of the reliability of psychological methods, the question of classification, and the systematic foundation of behavior analysis.⁹

⁹ Charlotte Bühler, Egon Brunswik and Norbert Thumb, "Methodological Problems in Child Psychology" (in preparation).

PART I
PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS



CHAPTER I

GENERAL ASPECTS OF PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS

PARENT-CHILD relations were studied in detail in six of the seventeen families. In four of them, we investigated sibling relations also; in the fifth, the younger child's relations to his sister could not be observed frequently enough, and the sixth case was selected to include a family with an only child (see Table 2 for further details). This means that we shall be able to compare the two kinds of relations in four homes. In one family (Burian), in addition to the two girls, there was an older brother, who could not be included in our observations, though he occasionally entered the family situation.

In the Introduction we have stated our reasons for presenting parent-child relations from a different point of view from sibling relations. The former will be described in terms of the situations in which contacts were established, their intended purposes, the forms which they assumed, and the reactions which they evoked.

I. CHARACTERISTICS OF PARENT-CHILD CONTACTS

The preliminary work necessary to develop the classification used in this section was arduous and time-consuming. Sophie Gedeon first arranged all parental approaches to their children in a two-dimensional table, in which the means of establishing approaches and the fields of activity in which they occurred were distinguished. Lotte Danzinger-Schenk attempted to arrange the children's approaches to their parents in a similar table; but a comparison of the evaluations of different collaborators showed that a two-dimensional table did not suffice for

this purpose. Charlotte Bühler then proposed a subdivision of the unit, "fields of activity," into "situations" and "purposes"; this resulted in a much higher degree of agreement among the interpretations of the various observers.

(The children's reactions to their parents and the parents' reactions to their children presented a second problem. Both the situation in which a contact is established and the purpose which it contains are determined by the *approach*; the significant aspect of the *reaction* is whether the reacting individual responds to or avoids the person making the approach, whether he submits or does not respond at all. For this reason, reactions had to be evaluated in an entirely different manner from approaches.

We obtained an extraordinarily large number of tables which it would be impossible to reproduce here. We have selected the most essential data and will discuss them in the present section under the following headings:

1. Situations in which parents approached their children
Situations in which children approached their parents
2. Purposes of parent-initiated approaches
Purposes of child-initiated approaches
3. Means whereby parents established contacts
Means whereby children established contacts
4. Reactions of parents to child-initiated contacts
Reactions of children to parent-initiated contacts

1. *The Situations in Which Contacts Were Established and Their Intended Purposes.*—The inventories of situations and purposes which we have distinguished are as follows:

INVENTORY OF SITUATIONS

Social intercourse

Play

Biological situations (feeding, physical care)

Domestic situations

School and school work

Outside world

INVENTORY OF INTENDED PURPOSES

Social

Affection

Social intercourse, conversation

Unfriendliness

Pedagogical

(a) On the part of the adult:

Instruction

Guidance

Consideration of the child

(b) On the part of the child:

Objective questions and statements

Seeking permission or recognition

Criticizing and influencing the adult

Organizational

Arranging social relations

Charitable

Giving, offering help

Desiring, demanding help

Economic

Taking care of things

Claiming property rights

Destroying things

These inventories may be further explained as follows. Life situations in which the child and his parents join each other are: social intercourse, playing in the presence of or with adults, biological situations (eating, dressing, discussions concerning the care of the body and protection), situations in which the conversation or the activity centers around the household (housework, cleaning, making purchases for the home, etc.), and conversations involving school or the outside world and situations in which parent and child go outside the home.

We have subdivided the purposes of conversations and joint activities. Thus we have distinguished social purposes (which may occur in any situation, but especially in social intercourse) as manifestly friendly, unfriendly, or purely social. Pedagogical purposes on the part of the parents are concerned with instruct-

ing or guiding the child or granting or refusing his demands (showing consideration). The child's pedagogical purposes manifest themselves in his approaching the adult with questions and statements, requesting permission and recognition, and in his attempts to influence the adult or criticize him. All purposes involving the arrangement of social relations are called organizational. Charitable purposes include the help which children and adults require from or give each other in different situations. Usually, of course, the child is the beneficiary of such purposes, but it is characteristic of certain families that they expect the child to cooperate much too early, and of others, that they never expect him to cooperate for the common good. This category is extremely valuable for diagnostic purposes. Finally, economic purposes are all those in which objects and values are concerned, including the discussion of activities involving the care or destruction of objects and claims of property rights.

Below is an analysis of one of our records according to the situations and purposes involved. The italicized passages contain situations and purposes which are identified in the columns at the right.

<i>Recorded Data</i>	<i>Situation</i>		<i>Purpose</i>	
	Child	Adult	Child	Adult
Mother, grandmother, Dorli and O. call for Lotte.				
M.: "There she comes."		social		conversation
Lotte carries a paper basket which she shows M., saying: "I can make that all by myself now. But this one isn't mine."	school school		recognition statement	
M. greets her.		social		conversation
M. carries her books for L.		social		helping
After they have boarded a streetcar, M. takes L.'s hat off and fixes her hair.		biological		helping

Recorded Data	Situation		Purpose	
	Child	Adult	Child	Adult
M. says: "Lotte, do you have any assignments?"		school		information
L.: "Oh, about a dozen problems."				
M.: "Was the teacher nice? Have you been a good girl? Did you have to read?"		school		information
L.: "Yes, yes."		"		"
M.: "Lotte, do you have a hankie?" L.: "Yes, but it is torn."		"		"
L. shows a wound on her knee, saying: "The new skin itches, too."	biological		statement	
M.: "That isn't the real skin yet, there'll be another one later on."		biological		statement
L.: "I went to Marie's house today."	outside world		statement	
She still sleeps in a baby bed."	social		criticism	
G.: "Lotte, we are going out to the farm."		social		organization
L.: "No, granny, let's go pick violets."	social		influencing	

Recorded Data	Situation		Purpose	
	Child	Adult	Child	Adult
Peter begins his school work. Nurse: "Wait, clear the table first."		school		organization
P. does so reluctantly.				
N. sits down with him, asks him about his work.		school		information
P. answers that he has to write half a page of t's and the word "mail" fifty times.				
N.: "Let's write the t's first."		school		guidance

Recorded Data	Situation		Purpose	
	Child	Adult	Child	Adult
<i>She gives him a piece of paper.</i>		school		guidance
P. writes, criticizes himself, and asks N. whether he is doing it right.	school		self-criticism	
P.: "What does capital T look like?"	school		asking criticism	
N.: "I'll show you as soon as you are through."		school	information	
P.: "No, show me now." N. refuses. After P. has made some good t's, she tells him that he may now write them in his tablet.		school		guidance
N.: "Clear your things away, Peter." P. starts doing this, puts half of his things in his brief case and wants to close it. He asks N. to help him.		household		organization
N.: "You can do that yourself." He does it alone.	household		desiring help	
P.: "Let's play Black Peter."	play		influencing	
N.: "We don't have the cards here, and I can't go in to get them because Susi is asleep."		play		statement
P.: "Well, let's play anyway." He whispers in N.'s ear. N.: "No secrets, Peter, that isn't nice."		social		guidance
Mother serves and says: "You'll get yours in a minute, Otto." O.: "I'm in no hurry." He is served. He starts to cut his meat, but passes his plate to M.		social		guidance
		biological		organization
		biological		helping
	biological		desiring help	

Recorded Data	Situation		Purpose	
	Child	Adult	Child	Adult
M.: "Look at that boy, he can't even cut his meat."		biological		guidance
Grandmother: "Otto, I would like some salad." O. passes it to her.		biological		desiring help
G.: "Careful, now." G. tells the story of a train wreck reported in the evening paper.		household outside world		care of object statement

2. *The Means of Establishing Contacts.*—The means chosen by parents to initiate contacts with their children can be classified as follows:

a. Greetings and affectionate approaches:

Simple greeting

Kissing, embracing

b. Non-verbal activities:

Bodily contact

Adjusting, straightening, fixing

Helping, cooperating

Giving, offering

Manipulating materials, expending energy

c. Conversations:

Statements

Stories

Opinions, guesses

Reflections

d. Objective means:

Questions

Plans

Directions, demonstrations

Showing things

Explanations

Information

Correction

- e. Encouraging:
 - Teasing, joking
 - Consoling, reassuring
- f. Influencing behavior:
 - Mildly
 - Asking
 - Convincing
 - Proposing
 - Recommending, advising
 - Urging
 - Giving spontaneous permission
 - Strongly
 - Warning
 - Ordering (commanding, forbidding)
 - Threatening
 - By use of tricks
 - Indirect stimulation
 - Arousing ambition
 - Making a game out of the activity
 - Suggesting
 - Intimidating
 - Symbolism
- g. Showing emotion and evaluation:
 - Judging oneself
 - Defending oneself
 - Complaining
 - Judging
 - Approving
 - Objecting
 - Disapproving
 - Blaming
 - Scolding
 - Punishing

The means whereby child-initiated contacts were established were the following:

- a. Greetings and affectionate approaches:
 - Embracing
 - Greeting, thanking
- b. Conversations:
 - Statements
 - Stories
 - Opinions, expressions of taste
 - Teasing, joking
- c. Objective means:
 - Asking questions
 - Describing plans
 - Showing
 - Explaining
- d. Influencing the adults:
 - Requesting
 - Demanding
 - Proposing, advising
 - Wishing
 - Calling attention to something
 - Commanding
 - Refusing
- e. Expressing emotion and evaluation:
 - Expressions of joy or approval
 - Judging
 - Negative criticism
 - Blaming
 - Complaining

3. *The Reactions Obtained.*¹—The exact meaning of the word “reaction” as used in the psychological literature depends on the problem under investigation, the school to which the author belongs, and even his own personal point of view. Without reviewing at this point the different connotations which this term may have, we wish to state that we use it to indicate experiences stimulated in the individual by someone’s approach.

The *direction* of this reaction is its essential characteristic and may be either positive or negative.

¹ This section was prepared by Dr. Sophie Gedeon.

a. **Positive Reactions.**—The following examples show the three basic types of positive reactions:

Father: "Kurt is a nice boy, isn't he?"

Helmuth: "Kurt? He's no good."

Grandmother has brought the children pajamas which she has made for them. Mother says: "Isn't that nice of granny? Did you say thank you?" Peter: "Thank you, granny."

Mother says: "Put your heavy coat on, Wolf."

Wolf proceeds to do so, saying: "O.K."

In the first example, the reaction consisted of responding to the adult-initiated contact in a manner corresponding to the adult's purpose. In other words, a response to a social stimulus was made in such a way that further conversation could ensue under certain conditions.

The second example does not embody the same kind of social response, in that Peter did not answer his mother directly, though he heeded her approach by recognizing its objective purpose. Although her approach was couched in the form of a question, he understood that she wanted him to do something that did not call for a direct answer to her question, and he acted accordingly. His reaction consisted of accepting her suggestion and regulating his behavior according to her desire. That is, he responded objectively to her approach. It is obvious that this reaction might also have been passive, such as would follow a warning or a prohibition. In such cases, the child obeys and conforms to the adult's purpose; hence his reactions should be called positive even in the absence of a direct answer.

The third example combines the two types of positive reactions, answering directly and responding objectively.

Purely social intercourse calls for the first type of positive reactions; the other two occur only in a response to approaches in which a course of action is suggested. The latter may be called social processes with an objective aim; the former are purely social. Figure 1 shows in graphic form the two fundamental types of positive reactions.

The following list includes some of the reactions observed, classified in either group of positive responses:

DIRECT ANSWERS: returning a greeting, responding to a social stimulation, answering a question, supplementing or augmenting the adult's approach, responding jokingly to a serious approach, etc. Examples of answers which augmented the adult's approach, which had an effect exceeding the adult's expectations and intended purposes, are:

Mother: "I'll bet you're tired, dear; you'd better stay in bed real late tomorrow." Lotte: "Sure I will; I won't get up till four in the afternoon."

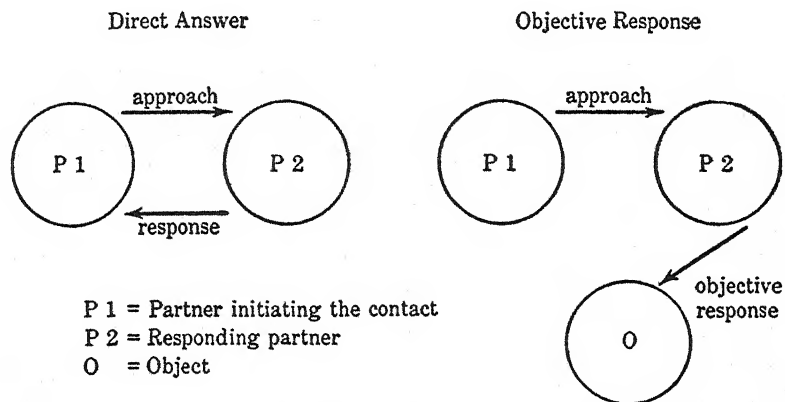


FIGURE 1.—Diagram of Positive Reaction Patterns.

Mother serves the children at the dinner table and says to Otto: "I'll get around to you in a minute." Otto answers: "Sure, I'm in no hurry."

Peter is playing a card game with the observer. The nurse enters with his little sister and says: "Susi would like to play, too. She'll take the cards that you two don't want." Peter replies: "Susi can play real well."

During a hike, Mother has to cross a little bridge. Wolf jumps up and down on it, causing his mother to warn him because the bridge doesn't look very steady. Noticing her nervousness, he comes to her side and tells her that the bridge is all right and that nothing is going to happen.

OBJECTIVE RESPONSES: taking things offered, obeying, submitting, etc. Though submitting is not really an active type of

response, it consists of the passive approval of another person's activity. It is a specific reaction to manipulations, such as straightening and fixing the child's hair or clothing, and it involves a direct answer and an objective response because the emphasis is on the material appearance of the child. The only positive response which the child can make is to contribute to the realization of the adult's wishes by accepting the rôle assigned to him and submitting to the objective purposes intended.

b. *Negative Reactions.*—These include defense, refusal, resistance, and failure to respond, as shown in the following examples:

Mother urges Helmuth to go skating. He refuses, saying: "I don't like to go by myself, I'd rather stay right here."

Mother says to Lotte: "We'd better wait till Saturday to let you stay up late, so you can sleep late Sunday." Lotte objects: "No, Mummy."

Ella discusses a lady with the observer. Mother enters the conversation by saying: "Well, do you know her?" Ella answers: "No, I don't."

In the first two examples there was a direct answer whose purpose and content were a refusal. Though the child responded to the adult-initiated contact, the adult's purpose went beyond this. The child's expressed attitude made the intended effect more difficult to achieve. Both responses should be classified as negative because the children offered resistance and the approach failed to have a positive effect. Besides, the mere establishment of a contact was not intended by either partner.

The negative answer of the third example, however, constitutes a positive response.

The interpretation of a reaction, then, must take into account the structure of the social process, which depends on the intended purposes of the persons involved. If there is an objective aim, the objective content of the reaction should be considered. If, however, both partners, and especially the one who initiated the contact, have no further aim than to establish that contact, every response may be counted positive which does not manifest a desire to avoid or oppose the other person.

In general, the interpretation of the child's reactions depends on whether his behavior corresponds to the adult's purposes as expressed in the latter's approach.

Some reactions which we have classified as positive really represented a mixed type. They were of two kinds: reluctant obedience, and a discrepancy between verbal and non-verbal responses, in which a refusal was expressed verbally while the child obeyed objectively. The former was sometimes combined with an aggressive attack on the adult, as in the following case:

During a game with his mother, Wolfgang throws the dice which roll on the floor and show a 6. He is elated, but his mother says: "No, Wolf, that doesn't count; you've got to roll them on the table." Wolf objects, but his mother insists. He obeys reluctantly, picks up the dice and goes back to his chair. When he passes his mother, he stops behind her chair, seizes the back of her dress and forcefully shakes her back and forth several times.

c. Avoidance Reactions.—Besides these two fundamental types of reactions, a third one was present in our material with considerable frequency. These have been called avoidance reactions; they occurred in those cases in which the child could not or would not obey immediately. The principal forms which they took are given below and, when necessary, clarified by examples.

WANTING FURTHER INFORMATION.—This consisted of a verbal response to an approach with an objective purpose, serving as a sort of preparation for the intended positive reaction. It signified that a positive reaction would have followed if further conditions and details had been known. The decision to obey was really expressed in this type of response.

CITING OBSTACLES.—The child claimed that he could not obey because of circumstances beyond his control. In case the obstacle did not depend on external conditions but on personal objections, he responded by *making excuses*. This occurred especially frequently when adults complained of the child's behavior or he had to justify himself in some other way. It presupposed the child's awareness of his guilt and responsibility. The examples will make the distinction clear.

Offering explanations:

Father: "Bring me some other nails, these are too short."

Otto: "But there aren't any others."

Peter and the nurse play school. He gives her additions.

Nurse: "You'll have to check to see if I do them right."

Peter: "But I don't have any more paper."

Self-justifications:

Mother: "Lotte, what happened this morning?" Lotte: "I didn't sleep long enough. I woke up at half-past five."

Mother: "And so you were a bad girl. Or were you sick?"

Lotte: "No, I just wasn't hungry. I couldn't eat a thing."

Peter is playing with his boat. Nurse: "Don't you remember what we decided? You wouldn't play with your boat any more today."

Peter: "But I just wanted to try it out."

A related, but by no means identical, form of response was *self-defense* (protest), which was sometimes combined with a "smart" answer. By defending himself, the child did not intend to admit any guilt in connection with the adult's complaint concerning his behavior. Such a response is shown in the next example.

Helmuth pushes his chair under the table before dinner. Mother stops him, saying: "Don't you know you should wash your hands before sitting down at the table?" Helmuth replies in an angry tone: "I just got my chair ready; don't you understand anything?" At the same time, he describes circular movements on his forehead with his index finger.

Other forms which these avoidance reactions took were: *making objections, arguing, doubting, maintaining an indifferent attitude, belittling the adult by ironical criticism or sarcasm, bringing up essentials, stating counter-wishes, bargaining, changing the subject, reassuring, begging, asking help, complaining*. Examples of some of these follow.

Arguing:

Peter comes home and is asked by his nurse what happened in school. He answers: "We made big Roman ones. I wrote 45 of them." Mother interjects: "I guess that is slightly exaggerated." Peter argues: "No, because I counted them."

Wolf is reciting his geography. Mother corrects him by saying: "Baden isn't a large city yet." Wolf, emphatically: "It is, too; it has a large dot on the map, so that proves it."

Maintaining an indifferent attitude:

Mother: "Now you can't go to the movies because you didn't clean up, and it is all your own fault." Helmuth shrugs his shoulders, saying: "I don't care; it makes no difference to me if I go or not."

Belittling:

Helmuth takes a woolen shirt out of the drawer. Mother says: "No, not that heavy one, that is much too warm. Put the light one on that I laid out for you." Helmuth replies: "But the heavy one is cooler because it has holes in it and the air can get through, but the light one doesn't. You don't even know what is coolest."

Mother scolds: "You clumsy boy, you always have to upset the game." Helmuth: "Yes, and you always have to scold," mocking her sarcastically, "ta-ta-ta-ta."

Bargaining:

Nurse: "Come on, Peter, get your school work done." Peter: "If you come and help me." Nurse: "But I can't draw for you." Peter: "Well, come and sit with me, then."

Changing the subject:

The children have gone to bed. Mother is in the next room and says: "Lotte, I don't like the way you threw your school things around; you'll never be able to find them." Lotte replies by saying: "Mummy, my tooth hurts so bad."

Otto's friend, who has been playing at his house, has told Otto's mother that he helps with the household chores in his home and afterwards sits down to read a book. Mother: "See, Otto, let that be an example to you. His sister washes the dishes and he helps dry them. And then he reads a book, did you hear that?" Otto attempts to ridicule the situation by saying: "Yes, that's a prayer book. He takes the book into the next room, opens it up and preaches." Otto stands up, imitates a priest, sings a hymn, and adds, "And then he has an altar in the next room and he prays." He gives an imitation.

A further analysis of these different forms of responses shows that demanding further information, citing obstacles, and making excuses contained a positive tendency, but that others manifested a negative attitude (arguing, self-defense, insisting, etc.).

These two forms should be clearly distinguished, and we have called the former *positive avoidance*, the latter *negative avoidance*. Such responses as bringing up inessentials we have called *neutral avoidance*.

Another group of avoidance reactions included those which were neither positive nor negative, such as haggling, changing the subject, reassuring, begging and complaining. They had in common the characteristic that they did not manifest a will to obey or, on the other hand, a tendency to refuse or contradict. Typically, they represented the child's attempt to carry out his own desires at least in part. This group which we have called *active evasion*, also includes such responses as postponing, substituting other activities, and halfway obeying, which are special forms of evading.

d. Zero Reactions.—In a considerable number of cases, no visible social reaction could be observed. The following variations occurred.

1. The reaction was impossible because of external conditions: because someone else responded for the child, the person who had initiated the contact continued it without leaving the child time to respond, etc.

Mother: "When you are through with the ink, put the stopper back on the bottle." She proceeds to do so herself.

Mother: "Have you changed your clothes yet? Oh yes, I see, you've changed your shoes."

These zero reactions were not dependent on the child; they have been called *prevented reactions*.

2. There was no need for an objective response because the adult's purpose went beyond the present situation and constituted an appeal to the future, obligating the child to no immediate response of any sort. Frequently the adult wished to create a certain attitude in the child, the effects of which would become manifest at some later time. It was not always possible to conclude from our records whether the child accepted the adult's suggestion. Hence we have designated these as *non-observable effects*.

3. If the approach occurred in the purely social realm, it

sometimes happened that no reaction followed because the child was satisfied with passive listening. Usually no measurable reaction ensued; yet this acceptance, which might perhaps be called a passive or *subjective reaction*, could not be identified with ignoring.

4. The child wanted to *ignore* the approach. If the adult's approach was negative with regard to the child's activity, the latter did not let it disturb him; and if the adult's purpose was to stimulate him to activity, he remained passive. In both cases, he appeared not to notice the approach. These were the true zero reactions, closely related to a refusal to respond; but those involving passive acceptance approached more nearly the positive reactions.

5. A last group of zero reactions indicated *embarrassment*. This resulted mainly from an interpretation of the approach and became manifest in blushing, shy laughter, staring at the floor, and similar characteristic behavior forms which indicated that the approach had been mentally evaluated and become effective. Theoretically, embarrassment should not be confused with passive acceptance or with ignoring.²

We have found, then, the following kinds of zero reactions in our data:

1. External conditions prevented a response.
2. The effect produced by the approach was uncertain.
3. The child responded passively.
4. The child took no notice of the approach.
5. The approach resulted only in a mental evaluation.

The first of these types of responses occurred in any situation, the third primarily after social approaches; the second, fourth and fifth were called forth by approaches with objective purposes.

To summarize the whole topic of reactions, our subjects showed the following types of reactions:

² In our statistical treatment of the child's reactions we have made a separate classification only for the zero reactions which depended on external circumstances. This was done because it was unfortunately not always clear to which group a zero reaction belonged. We may assume, however, that most of the social zero reactions indicated passive reception.

- a. Positive reactions.
- b. Negative reactions.
- c. Avoidance reactions:
 - 1. Positive.
 - 2. Negative.
 - 3. Neutral.
 - 4. Active Evasion.
- d. Zero reactions.

II. CONTACT SITUATIONS AND PURPOSES

1. *Situations in Which Contacts Were Established.*—The character of verbal and non-verbal activities was not solely dependent on the situation in which they took place. A child such as Heinz could be involved in an unusually large number of contacts established in play situations, and yet these contacts did not necessarily have his play as such for their theme. In his case, play situations offered many opportunities for training and guidance. On the other hand, situations requiring a child to help with domestic chores sometimes also contained conversation and pleasantries. An accurate picture of the child's contacts can be obtained only by comparing the profiles of situations and purposes. In Heinz's case, this would show that many contacts established in play situations had an educational rather than a social aim.

At the same time, the distribution of contact situations gives a general picture of the structure of contacts, because it is quite characteristic of certain kinds of family life for the mother to have many or few contacts with her child in play situations, for him to demand much or little of her in household situations, etc., regardless of the *nature* of her contacts with the child.

Social situations offer an opportunity for contacts which are ends in themselves, give the child the experience of belonging to the family unit, and develop his position as a full-fledged member of this social structure. In play, biological, and school situations, the child and his activities are in the center, but not in the same manner. In play situations, the emphasis is on the child's free development, while in biological situations he is the object of care and help, and in school situations pedagogical

points of view prevail to bring about desired responses in him. The household situation, on the other hand, is primarily an adult domain, in which the child is occasionally made a partner who has to assist, adjust himself, etc. In this situation, the child has to accept the interests and occupations of the adults. Finally, the outside world presents a neutral situation in which any kind of contact may be established. Specifically, it provides the child's introduction to nature and life in general, in the form of conversations and instruction.

For the child's instruction as well as for the purpose of developing a wide scope of contacts, it is desirable that he receive suggestions, instruction, and guidance as well as ask questions and have social intercourse with adults in any of these situations. If his contacts remain limited to few situations, many opportunities to learn are neglected, and his contacts are necessarily scantier because his chances to exchange points of view and engage in joint activities have been restricted.

The contact situations of most of our families were far from harmoniously distributed. The data presented in Table 6 suggest that their contacts were limited to relatively few situations.

TABLE 6.—CONTACT SITUATIONS IN PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS
(IN PER CENT)

Situations	Parent-initiated Contacts	Child-initiated Contacts
Social	26.8	28.4
Play activities	13.9	20.1
Biological	30.2	16.5
Household	8.8	4.8
School and school work	12.2	9.0
Outside world	8.1	21.2
	100.0	100.0

2. *The Intended Purposes.*—A similar one-sidedness occurred in the intended purposes of parent-child contacts, as is evident in Table 7.

It may be seen from this table that most parent-initiated contacts occurred in biological situations and that their most fre-

TABLE 7.—THE PURPOSES OF PARENT-CHILD CONTACTS
(IN PER CENT)

Intended Purposes	Parent-initiated Contacts	Child-initiated Contacts
Social:		
Social intercourse	14.3	36.4
Affection	0.9	1.8
Unfriendliness	0.5	0.5
Pedagogical (parents):		
Giving information	11.7	
Guidance	39.6	
Consideration of child	1.8	
Pedagogical (children):		
Asking objective questions		23.0
Seeking permission; self-criticism		10.5
Criticizing, influencing adults		9.9
Organizational	16.1	2.3
Charitable:		
Giving help	9.3	0.9
Asking help	4.8	12.9
Economic:		
Taking care of things	1.0	0.2
Destroying things	0.0	0.0
Claiming property rights	0.0	1.6
	100.0	100.0

quent purpose was pedagogical guidance. Children, on the other hand, initiated their contacts mostly in social situations, and their objectives were primarily social intercourse and conversation. The discrepancies between the strong interest in the outside world as manifested by the children and the comparative neglect of these situations on the part of their parents, and the prevalence of organizational purposes on the part of parents, should be especially noted. This undue emphasis on pedagogical and organizational aspects obviously caused these parents to neglect to stimulate their children to spontaneous assistance, which occurred very infrequently, in view of the fact that we were dealing with youngsters between the ages of six and ten. Their helplessness also showed up in their relatively frequent

demands for aid. Our families, it seems, stood out by their emphasis on authority and pedagogical guidance, which is typical of middle-class families in central Europe.

Table 8 indicates that the numbers of approaches initiated by parents and their children were rather similar, though there were considerable differences among the various families.

TABLE 8.—NUMBER OF APPROACHES DURING 15 HOURS' OBSERVATION

Name of Child	Number of Approaches		Relative Numbers	
	Parents	Children	Parents	Children
Gertrud	355	290	209.2	206.9
Käthe	106	99	62.5	70.7
Heinz	228	192	134.4	137.0
Hans	157	102	92.5	72.8
Berthold	129	101	76.0	72.1
Rudi	105	104	61.8	74.2
Erna	133	140	78.4	100.0
Ilse	145	93	85.5	67.1
Average	169.7	140.1	100.0	100.0

The two children whose parents initiated the largest number of contacts also made the most frequent approaches to their parents. Rudi's and Käthe's parents established the fewest contacts with their children; with one exception, Käthe initiated the fewest contacts with her parents, and Rudi was well below the average in this respect. Ilse, who initiated fewer contacts than any other child, belonged to the group whose parents made a subnormal number of contacts with them. In this respect, the behavior of parents and children showed a remarkable similarity.

It may be well to state at this point that the frequency with which contacts were established had nothing to do with the existence of favorable or unfavorable relations between parents and children. It is true that Gertrud's relations with her parents were exceptionally favorable and Heinz's were unfavorable; on the other hand, Ilse's relations were excellent and Rudi's and Käthe's rather bad, but not as bad as Erna's, whose contacts with her parents were more frequent than theirs.

TABLE 9.—PARENT-CHILD CONTACT SITUATIONS AND PURPOSES IN INDIVIDUAL FAMILIES (RELATIVE FREQUENCIES BASED ON AVERAGE OF 100)

I. PARENT-INITIATED CONTACTS

Family	1		2		3		4	5	6
Child	G	E	K	I	B	H	H	R	
A. Situations:									
Social	109	76	106	158	99	64	66	124	
Play	75	119	75	35	95	233	59	109	
Biological	127	99	137	89	97	54	109	85	
Household	54	325	0	47	114	54	79	129	
School	48	34	162	135	87	190	105	39	
Outside world	140	10	0	68	131	78	260	117	
B. Intended Purposes:									
Social:									
Social intercourse	183	52	67	70	69	32	250	73	
Affection	278	0	100	78	89	89	211	0	
Unfriendliness	120	160	360	0	160	0	0	0	
Pedagogical:									
Instruction	137	51	0	106	123	148	167	65	
Guidance	32	70	157	82	79	165	63	152	
Consideration	138	127	50	38	0	72	0	372	
Organizational	149	191	58	103	151	27	35	24	
Charitable:									
Giving help	145	81	143	164	146	46	61	10	
Asking help	35	329	18	29	79	8	118	179	
Economic:									
Taking care	30	150	90	70	80	130	60	190	
Destroying	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Property rights	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Before proceeding to analyze the structure of individual families, we wish to present a general picture of the trend of our data and the characteristics of our groups.

Table 10 shows that each of our families was definitely individual in the structure of its contacts. In five of the eight cases, biological situations offered the parents most opportunities for contact with their children; in the other three, play and social situations were in this position. Social situations gave rise to the most frequent child-initiated contacts in four of the eight cases, while in the other four, play, biological, and outside situations offered the most frequent opportunities. In addition to

II. CHILD-INITIATED CONTACTS

Family	1	2		3		4	5	6
Child	G	E	K	I	B	H	H	R
A. Situations:								
Social	92	78	163	144	118	49	72	81
Play	125	79	100	16	93	202	82	100
Biological	98	161	86	97	48	63	113	133
Household	67	298	83	156	102	33	0	60
School	46	96	68	72	99	278	67	76
Outside world	118	59	43	121	121	39	180	118
B. Intended Purposes:								
Social:								
Social intercourse	147	156	161	106	108	8	114	91
Affection	150	0	105	122	217	56	50	105
Unfriendliness	140	0	0	0	0	520	0	200
Pedagogical:								
Questions	71	139	48	112	90	120	156	54
Permission	40	89	107	41	9	347	45	118
Criticism	93	21	40	130	159	174	10	173
Organizational	226	91	0	91	39	0	204	130
Charitable:								
Giving help	156	322	111	0	100	0	0	100
Asking help	48	104	102	100	113	74	81	88
Economic:								
Taking care	150	0	0	0	0	0	0	450
Destroying	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Property rights	19	181	0	69	112	38	56	351

these preferred situations, in some families other situations played an important part. This is true especially of those involving school, the household, and the outside world.

A remarkable prevalence of pedagogical measures in the parents' purposes was noticeable in five cases, while two had primarily organizational, and only one social, purposes. The children, on the other hand, had primarily social purposes in five cases out of eight; in two others, objective questions predominated, and in only one case was obtaining permission the principal aim of contacts with parents.

We have already remarked that this prevalence of contacts

TABLE 10.—PARENT-CHILD CONTACT SITUATIONS AND PURPOSES IN INDIVIDUAL FAMILIES (IN PER CENT)

I. PARENT-INITIATED CONTACTS

Family	1	2		3		4	5	6	Average
Child	G	E	K	I	B	H	H	R	
A. Situations:									
Social	29.1	20.3	28.3	42.2	26.4	17.1	17.8	33.3	26.8
Play	10.4	16.5	10.4	4.8	13.2	32.4	8.3	15.2	13.9
Biological	38.5	30.0	41.5	26.9	29.2	16.2	33.1	25.8	30.2
Household	4.8	28.6	0.0	4.1	10.0	4.8	7.0	11.4	8.8
School	5.9	3.8	19.8	16.5	10.6	23.2	12.8	4.8	12.2
Outside world	11.3	0.8	0.0	5.5	10.6	6.3	21.0	9.5	8.1
B. Intended Purposes:									
Social:									
Social intercourse	26.2	7.5	9.5	10.1	10.0	4.5	35.8	10.5	14.3
Affection	2.5	0.0	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.8	1.9	0.0	0.9
Unfriendliness	0.6	0.8	1.8	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
Pedagogical:									
Instruction	16.0	6.0	0.0	12.4	14.4	17.6	19.5	7.6	11.7
Guidance	12.7	27.8	62.4	32.4	31.4	65.4	25.1	60.0	39.6
Consideration	2.5	2.3	0.9	0.7	0.0	1.3	0.0	6.7	1.8
Organizational	24.0	30.8	9.4	26.3	24.4	4.4	5.7	3.8	16.1
Charitable:									
Giving help	13.5	7.5	13.3	15.3	13.6	4.3	5.7	0.9	9.3
Asking help	1.7	15.8	0.9	1.4	3.8	0.4	5.7	8.6	4.8
Economic:									
Taking care	0.3	1.5	0.9	0.7	0.8	1.3	0.6	1.9	1.0
Destroying	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Property rights	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Number of contacts	355	133	106	145	129	228	157	105	169.7

in the spheres of care and training, with emphasis on developing good manners and worry about school work, was typical of the middle-class groups to which our families belonged, as well as of the above-average social classes of central Europe in general. In England, and especially in the United States, contact situations and purposes in parent-child relations would probably be very differently distributed. It is likely that in these countries care and training would surrender their prominent positions to play, social, and organizational activities.

The following examples typify the attitude of our families, who often attached an exaggerated importance to school work:

The observer asks Ilse whether she gets many assignments. Ilse states that her mother often makes her do additional work after she is through. Mother defends herself by saying: "I never give you extra work. I'm only too glad when you get your school work done."

II. CHILD-INITIATED CONTACTS

Family	1	2		3		4	5	6	Average
Child	G	E	K	I	B	H	H	R	
A. Situations:									
Social	26.1	22.2	46.4	40.9	33.7	14.1	20.6	23.0	28.4
Play	25.2	15.8	20.2	3.2	18.8	40.6	16.6	20.2	20.1
Biological	16.2	26.5	14.2	16.1	7.9	10.4	18.6	22.0	16.5
Household	3.2	14.3	4.0	7.5	4.9	1.6	0.0	2.9	4.8
School	4.2	8.6	6.1	6.5	8.9	25.0	6.0	6.8	9.0
Outside world	25.1	12.6	9.1	25.8	25.8	8.3	38.2	25.1	21.2
B. Intended Purposes:									
Social:									
Social intercourse	53.6	23.6	58.6	38.7	40.5	3.1	41.5	33.3	36.4
Affection	2.7	0.0	1.0	2.2	3.9	1.0	0.9	1.9	1.8
Unfriendliness	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6	0.0	1.0	0.5
Pedagogical:									
Questions	16.3	32.1	11.1	25.8	20.7	29.7	35.9	12.4	23.0
Permission	4.1	9.3	11.2	4.3	0.9	36.4	4.7	12.4	10.5
Criticism	9.2	2.1	4.0	12.9	15.8	17.2	1.0	17.1	9.9
Organizational	5.2	2.1	0.0	2.1	0.9	0.0	4.7	3.0	2.3
Charitable:									
Giving help	1.4	2.9	1.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.9
Asking help	6.2	25.0	13.1	12.9	14.6	9.4	10.4	11.4	12.9
Economic:									
Taking care	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.2
Destroying	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Property rights	0.3	2.9	0.0	1.1	1.8	0.6	0.9	5.7	1.6
Number of contacts	290	140	99	93	101	192	102	104	140.1

Ilse insists: "You do, too; you often make me do more work when I'm through." Berthold verifies his sister's statement. Mother continues: "You really can't say that I always give you extra work; perhaps that has happened once." Ilse, sarcastically: "No, not once; several times." Mother confesses: "Well, when you did so poorly in math, I made you do some extra figuring; but not any more." Ilse: "Yes, you do too." Mother does not answer.

Mother objects because Käthe has written only on the upper half of each page of her writing pad. Käthe defends herself: "But that's all we're supposed to do." Mother insists: "And yesterday you did the same thing. I want you to finish the whole page." Käthe continues, but her mother does not like the way she writes, and says: "No, Käthe, that won't do. You'll have to practice on a sheet of paper first. Every day you're going to write for an hour until you know how." She gives her a piece of paper on which she makes Käthe write the exercise once more. After she has copied it on her

pad, mother says: "And now the next page. And when you get through, you have to finish your math problem." Käthe sighs, and mother says: "All right, you can stop now and finish it up tonight." Käthe slams her book shut and runs out of the room happily.

Instructions concerning practical behavior in life situations occurred only one-tenth as frequently as those involving school work and one-twentieth as frequently as those involving manners.

III. THE RÔLE OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD

We have thus far contrasted the adults collectively with the children. Now the question must be raised as to the rôles of individual adults in the household. We are, of course, limited to the situations prevailing during our visits; hence it was not possible to observe adequately the father's influence during meals and on Sundays. However, this corresponds to the fact that in some of our families his influence on the children was negligible; in three cases he could not be observed at all because of the schedule of our visits. Table II shows the proportion in which individual adults contributed to the number of adult-initiated approaches in each family.

TABLE II.—THE RÔLE OF ADULTS IN THE CHILD'S LIFE

Family	1		2		3		4	5	6	Average
Child	G	E	K	I	B	H	H	R	R	
Mother	57.2	100.0	92.5	54.5	46.5	24.6	68.8	80.0	65.5	
Father	7.6	0.0	7.5	31.7	21.7	0.0	14.6	—	11.9	
Grandmother	5.9	—	—	7.6	15.5	—	16.6	20.0	13.1	
Nurse	—	—	—	—	—	71.7	—	—	—	
Maid and others	29.3	—	—	6.2	16.3	3.7	0.0	—	11.1	

It is evident that in the majority of cases the mothers accounted for the greatest proportion of adult approaches to the child, except in the case of Heinz, whose nurse played the most important part in this respect. It is interesting to note that the two extreme cases of Erna and Heinz (Erna's mother controlled

her life almost exclusively, whereas the influence of Heinz's mother was minimal) represented the two most unfavorable parent-child relations. Rudi's relations to his mother might be included with these two. On the other hand, the most favorable relations between parents and children occurred in those cases which showed a more even distribution of contacts over several adults. This is true of Ilse and Berthold, and also of Hans and of Gertrud. Naturally, we are not justified in drawing general conclusions from our limited observations; our sole aim is to determine the facts contained in our data and to consider them as incentives to further research.

A further analysis of the part played by fathers and mothers in the child's life is offered in Tables 12 and 13, which show the nature of parental contacts according to the situations in which they were initiated and the intended purposes.

TABLE 12.—THE MOTHER'S PART IN THE CHILD'S LIFE

	Family	1	2		3		4	5	6	Average
	Child	G	E	K	I	B	H	H	R	
<i>Situations:</i>										
Social		24.7	20.3	25.5	32.9	20.0	26.7	—	39.3	27.2
Play		12.8	16.5	9.2	0.0	5.0	33.3	—	19.1	13.7
Biological		44.3	30.0	43.9	21.5	33.3	23.3	—	21.4	31.1
School		8.4	3.8	21.4	30.4	21.7	10.0	—	4.8	14.2
Household		5.4	28.6	0.0	7.6	10.0	1.7	—	3.5	8.1
Outside world		4.4	0.8	0.0	7.6	10.0	5.0	—	11.9	5.7
<i>Purposes:</i>										
Social		20.0	8.3	11.2	11.4	9.9	8.3	31.8	13.1	14.3
Pedagogical:										
Instruction		18.0	6.0	0.0	17.7	11.6	23.3	21.8	9.5	13.5
Guidance		13.0	27.8	66.3	24.1	33.9	55.0	27.3	61.9	39.8
Consideration		3.0	2.3	1.1	1.3	0.0	3.3	0.0	5.9	2.2
Organizational		31.5	30.8	7.1	29.1	30.0	1.7	5.6	4.8	17.7
Charitable:										
Giving help		12.5	7.5	12.1	12.7	8.6	6.7	7.3	0.0	6.9
Asking help		2.0	15.8	1.1	2.5	5.0	0.0	6.2	3.6	4.6
Economic		0.0	1.5	1.1	1.2	1.0	1.7	0.0	1.2	1.0

It follows from these tables that the mothers played a part in all situations, but especially in the biological realm, while the fathers, who spent much less time with the child, tended to limit their contacts to the social sphere. In the families studied, the fathers' purposes were primarily social rather than directed toward pedagogical guidance and instruction. Again, this may

TABLE 13.—THE FATHER'S PART IN THE CHILD'S LIFE

Family	1	2		3		4	5	6	Average
Child	G	E	K	I	B	H	H	R	
<i>Situations:</i>									
Social	44.4	0.0	62.5	56.5	42.9	—	—	—	51.6
Play	0.0	0.0	25.0	8.7	21.5	—	—	—	13.8
Biological	29.6	0.0	12.5	34.8	21.5	—	—	—	24.6
School	14.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	—	—	—	3.7
Household	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.1	—	—	—	4.5
Outside world	7.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	—	—	—	1.8
<i>Purposes:</i>									
Social	42.8	0.0	25.0	6.5	7.1	—	56.5	—	27.6
Pedagogical:									
Instruction	17.9	0.0	0.0	4.3	10.7	—	13.0	—	9.2
Guidance	14.3	0.0	12.5	41.3	32.2	—	13.0	—	22.7
Consideration	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	—	0.0	—	0.7
Organizational	14.3	0.0	37.5	28.3	32.2	—	13.0	—	25.1
Charitable:									
Giving help	7.1	0.0	25.0	19.6	10.7	—	4.5	—	13.4
Asking help	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.1	—	0.0	—	1.3
Economic	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	—	0.0	—	0.0

NOTE: For Hans' parents, the distribution of contact situations was not available.

not be a general conclusion, and may be quite different in other cases.

IV. THE REACTIONS OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN

The types of reactions observed in parents and children to each other's approaches are presented in Table 14.

TABLE 14.—THE REACTIONS OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN
(IN PER CENT)

	Type of Reaction			
	Positive	Negative	Zero	Avoidance
Parents	42.0	13.5	27.2	17.3
Children	54.0	5.0	24.5	16.5

This distribution shows, for both parents and children, a decided prevalence of positive reactions and a distinct parallelism between paternal and child behavior. For this reason, parents and children who were primarily negative stand out with special clearness. Further analyses of these reactions are presented in Tables 15 and 16.

TABLE 15.—THE PARENTS' REACTIONS

Type of Reaction	Frequency	Per Cent
<i>Positive:</i>		
Returning greeting	9	
Submitting	13	
Adjusting	61	
Agreeing, showing interest	16	
Assisting	45	
Answering	69	
Affection	4	
	— 217	28.4
<i>Negative:</i>		
Refusing, opposing, defending	30	
Denying	5	
Forbidding	17	
	— 52	6.8
<i>Zero Reactions:</i>		
External causes	41	
Passive reception, ignoring	167	
	— 208	27.2
<i>Avoidance:</i>		
<i>Positive:</i>		
Asking further details	54	
Advising	13	
Explaining	17	
Supplementing	5	
Excusing, self-defense	5	
Criticizing	11	
	— 105	13.8
<i>Negative:</i>		
Contradicting	24	
Arguing	11	
Doubting	3	
Self-defense	9	
Negative action	2	
	— 49	6.4
<i>Active evasion:</i>		
Distracting	9	
Bargaining	1	
Comforting	9	
Encouraging	7	
Discussion	4	
Postponing	10	
Tricks	4	
Teasing	21	
	— 65	8.5

TABLE 15—*Continued*

Type of Reaction	Frequency	Per Cent
<i>With pedagogical intentions:</i>		
Praising	2	
Blaming, accusing	26	
Warning, threatening	16	
Pointing to a moral	4	
	— 48	6.3
<i>Evaluating:</i>		
Applauding	15	
Belittling	5	
	— 20	2.6
	764	100.0

TABLE 16.—THE CHILDREN'S REACTIONS

Type of Reaction	Frequency	Per Cent
<i>Positive:</i>		
Returning greeting	13	
Submitting	48	
Taking	26	
Adjusting	257	
Agreeing, showing interest	175	
Answering	84	
Obedying reluctantly	12	
Obedying with verbal refusal	6	
Joking	6	
	— 627	54.0
<i>Negative:</i>		
Refusing, opposing, defending	46	
Repeating forbidden act	5	
	— 51	5.0
<i>Zero reactions:</i>		
External causes	4	
Passive reception, ignoring	276	
	— 280	24.5
<i>Avoidance:</i>		
<i>Positive:</i>		
Asking further details	17	
Explaining	27	
Excusing, self-defense	8	
	— 52	5.0

TABLE 16—Continued

Type of Reaction	Frequency	Per Cent
Negative:		
Contradicting	32	
Arguing	9	
Doubting	10	
Self-defense	11	
Insisting	15	
"Smart" answer	7	
Sarcasm	5	
Violence	1	
	90	7.9
Active evasion:		
Changing subject	9	
Bargaining	5	
Reassuring	6	
Begging	10	
Complaining	2	
Postponing	5	
Substitute activity	4	
	41	3.6
	1141	100.0

In general, the children were predominantly positive in more than one-half of their reactions. Definitely negative reactions were relatively rare, both zero reactions and avoidance reactions occurring more frequently than negative responses.

On the basis of this analysis of average behavior, it was possible to evaluate individual behavior, which by comparison became characteristic of each individual parent-child relation.

V. THE MEANS OF ESTABLISHING CONTACTS

The means chosen by the parents to establish contacts with their children are shown in Table 17.

TABLE 17.—THE MEANS OF ESTABLISHING PARENT-INITIATED CONTACTS

Family Child	1 G	2 E K	3 I B	4 H	5 H	6 R	To- tal	Per Cent
<i>Greetings:</i>								
Simple	5	0 0	2 2	2	0	0	11	
Kissing, embracing	6	0 1	1 1	1	2	0	12	
							23	2.7
<i>Activities:</i>								
Bodily contact	2	0 0	2 0	0	3	0	7	
Adjusting	23	0 1	1 3	10	0	0	38	
Helping	9	1 4	2 5	1	1	3	26	
Giving	8	10 8	7 8	1	4	7	53	
Manipulating	0	0 0	0 0	3	0	1	4	
							128	14.9
<i>Conversations:</i>								
Statements	2	0 0	2 1	0	7	3	15	
Stories	4	0 0	1 0	0	1	2	8	
Guesses	1	1 0	4 1	4	0	0	11	
Reflections	0	0 0	0 1	1	0	0	2	
							36	4.2
<i>Objective means:</i>								
Questions	33	6 5	13 8	17	19	6	107	
Plans	6	2 0	1 1	3	2	1	16	
Directions	3	0 1	1 6	2	3	0	16	
Showing	2	0 0	0 0	0	3	0	5	
Explaining	1	0 0	0 0	0	5	0	6	
Informing	3	2 0	0 0	2	3	0	10	
Correcting	1	0 0	1 0	1	0	2	5	
							165	19.3
<i>Encouraging:</i>								
Joking	2	1 3	6 2	0	7	4	25	
Consoling	3	0 1	0 0	0	4	1	9	
							34	4.0
<i>Influencing:</i>								
Mildly:								
Asking	5	0 0	0 0	0	0	0	5	
Convincing	0	1 3	0 0	0	0	0	4	
Proposing	7	7 0	0 1	4	0	6	25	
Advising	9	10 11	8 12	8	25	9	92	

TABLE 17—(Continued)

Family Child	1 G	2 E K	3 I B	4 H	5 H	6 R	To- tal	Per Cent		
Urging	25	22	11	16	12	31	18	18	153	32.3
Permission	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	
									283	
Strongly:										10.5
Warning	8	1	6	3	4	14	5	10	51	
Ordering	4	6	8	3	1	4	1	5	32	
Threatening	2	0	0	0	1	3	0	1	7	
									90	1.6
Tricks:										
Indirect stimula- tion	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Arousing ambition	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	
Making game	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	
Intimidating	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	
Suggestion	3	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	6	
Symbolism	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
									13	10.5
Showing emotion, evalu- ating:										
Judging oneself	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Defending oneself	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	
Complaining	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	5	
Judging	0	1	2	4	1	2	1	2	13	
Approving	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	
Objecting	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	4	
Disapproving	5	4	3	0	2	8	9	1	32	
Blaming	0	5	5	3	1	2	1	5	22	
Scolding	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	6	
Punishing	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	1	5	
									90	
	191	82	75	83	75	132	126	98	862	100.0

CHAPTER II

THE INDIVIDUAL FAMILIES

I. THE AMBROS FAMILY

THIS family consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Ambros (age 38 and 32, respectively) and two children, Gertrud (age 6.3) and Steffi (age 3.0). There was a maid employed in this home.

As may be seen from Table 8, the Ambros family exceeded all other families in respect to the number of contacts that were established. However, Mrs. Ambros was primarily responsible for these (Table 11), since her husband, who was a merchant, was often out of town and rarely home at all during the day. We shall attempt to supplement the quantitatively insufficient picture of the father's approaches to his children by presenting all that could be learned about him during a total of 26 hours of observation.

Table 10 and Figure 2 show that Gertrud was one of the four children whose parents established social contacts with them with more than average frequency. At the same time, Gertrud's parents initiated more than the average numbers of contacts with her in biological situations and in those concerning the outside world. The latter corresponded to the child's interests, since she approached her parents very often in the same situations, primarily because of the fact that she shared her father's interest in nature study. Gertrud's approaches exceeded the average most in play situations. Household and school took up little of her time, since the emphasis in this family was on the children's interests and needs. Gertrud acted in the capacity of a social partner and companion to the adults more often than is usual for a girl of her age.

Mother tells the children during a walk in the park: "When I was a little girl, we often came to this park to pick the first violets. And there are anemones here too, somewhere."

Mother says to Gertrud: "You know what happened? Mitzi burned the dessert, and she had to run to the store to buy a cake."

When Mr. Ambros was home, he spent much of his time with Gertrud. His contacts with her accounted for 45 per cent of all his spontaneous approaches in the family circle. He loved to talk with her and stimulated her to conversation not only with concrete questions, but also with such indefinite requests as: "Come on, tell me something."

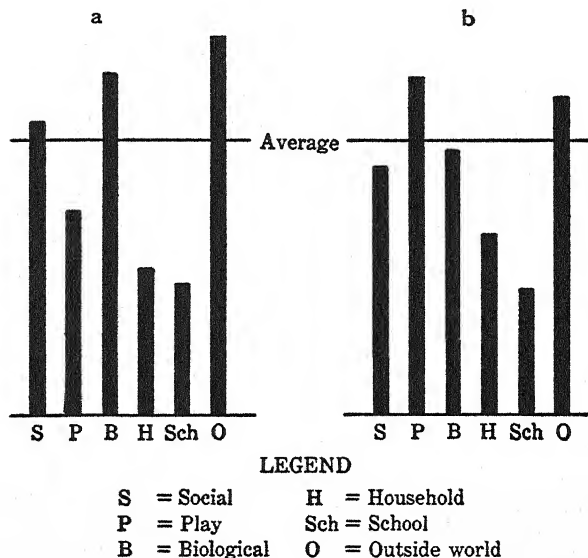


FIGURE 2.—Spontaneous Approaches (Situations): a. Parent-initiated; b. Initiated by Gertrud.

His pleasure in conversing with Gertrud and in being in intimate mental and physical contact with her during the few hours he spent at home overshadowed any other intentions which an adult might have with regard to his child (Table 10). At times he ignored the pedagogical point of view to the extent that his wife had to take a hand in the proceedings. As a result, her rôle was often unpleasant, the more so because her husband sometimes ignored her instructions. The following is a typical example of such behavior:

Father asks Gertrud: "Well, what happened in school today? Come on, my big girl, come and see me when I get home, will you?"

Mother: "Your big girl should have finished her school work long ago, so we can go out."

Gertrud sits on her father's lap and talks to him.

Although Mrs. Ambros was very affectionate in her attitude toward Gertrud, she succeeded in maintaining a nice balance. Keeping in mind her daughter's physical and mental needs, she maintained a pedagogical perspective throughout; she never allowed her affection to interfere with the realities of training the child, but subjugated her personal feelings to her educational technique. Although she was very intimate with Gertrud and took part in many of her games, she preserved a certain distance, retained her authority, and commanded her daughter's respect.

She encouraged the friendly relations between her husband and Gertrud by urging her repeatedly to tell him the events of the day. For instance:

"Gertrud, have you told Daddy that you went riding with Uncle Berthold this afternoon?"

In play situations, the behavior of the members of the Ambros family was somewhat different. In these the maid came to the foreground, though the mother played with the children often and knew remarkably well how to stimulate their games and their imagination. Her pedagogical and organizational purposes stood out particularly, whereas they were practically absent in the maid.

Mitzi was considered a playmate in games and social situations, and in many respects was preferred to the mother. For example:

Gertrud tells her mother: "I really like to go out with Mitzi better than with you, mummy, because when we are with her we do so much more exploring."

However, the presence of a girl of her own age made Gertrud forget rather easily her preference for Mitzi.

Gertrud is telling Mitzi the story of Mickey Mouse, which she has just seen in the movies. The doorbell rings, and her little friend Susi comes in. Mitzi is ready to go out, and she says: "I have to go now, Gertrud, or do you want to tell me some more?" Gertrud answers: "Yes, after Susi goes home."

Gertrud's play activities were encouraged in many different ways. The adults played with her, instructed and guided her when she played by herself, and explained things to her. In these approaches as in all others, both parents expressed their affectionate attitude toward the children, which was, however, not always shared by the maid. Mr. Ambros never left home without kissing the girls.

Father: "So long, kids."

Steffi: "Do you have to go now?"

Father: "Yes, and I need a kiss on the spot where I have just shaved."

Both children kiss him before he leaves.

When Mrs. Ambros returned home, she usually kissed both children. She awakened Gertrud with a kiss every morning and kissed her once or twice before she went to sleep.

Mother: "Good night, dear."

Gertrud: "Kiss me, kiss me. You can't say good night without kissing me."

Mother: "But I have kissed you, darling."

Gertrud: "But I want another one."

Mother and Steffi call for Gertrud after school. Mother greets her, saying: "Hello, dear." A few minutes later she says: "Gertrud, we haven't even greeted each other right." She bends over and they kiss each other.

This affection did not constitute a mere convention; both parents intensely desired physical contact with the children. Their attachment to them, rather than a rational realization that children needed affection, was the primary factor. Hence their affectionate behavior was often impulsive.

Mother is ready to go out. Steffi has been dressed by Mitzi and enters the room. Mother looks at her, kneels beside her, and kisses

her repeatedly, saying: "My precious little darling!" After getting up, she adds: "Now look, I put lipstick all over your face."

An affectionate undertone was present in most contacts with the children. Gertrud's given name was used much less frequently than "darling," "precious," "sweet," etc., and an affectionate tone was also noticeable in such terms of endearment as "big girl," "ladies," and "bums." Even impatient remarks were usually softened by endearing terms.

Mother: "Darling, eat a little faster. You put an empty spoon into your mouth."

Both parents attempted to avoid any sort of conflict with Gertrud; this often necessitated the use of tricks, which will be discussed further below. In those cases in which a conflict did arise notwithstanding their efforts, it was solved in a rather mild manner and the restored peace sealed with a kiss.

Gertrud is allowed to stay up late and Steffi asks permission to do the same. Mother gives her another ten minutes.

Gertrud: "No, mother, you said that I could and Steffi couldn't."

Mother: "I haven't said a word about Steffi, but I told you that you could, just for once. You may stay up one more evening until 7:30, but eight o'clock is out of the question."

Gertrud: "But you promised, mother." She begins to cry and adds: "I don't want to stay up at all if I can't stay up till eight."

Mother: "You can do that when you don't have to go to school the next day."

Gertrud: "But that doesn't make any difference."

Mother: "It does to me, and it does to the teacher, too, because she said that the lights should be out by seven."

Gertrud: "No, she meant that we should go to bed at seven. I didn't understand her right at first." Then, pouting: "Gee, I was going to have such fun."

Mother takes her into the next room and whispers to her: "Listen, dear, Steffi is so little and she hears you when you come into the room after she has gone to bed. You wake her up every morning at seven, and when we disturb her morning sleep we should not bother her at night."

Gertrud: "But I'll be real quiet, mummy."

Mother: "I know, dear, but she'll hear you anyway."

Gertrud, meekly: "But some day, when Steffi sleeps with Mitzi—but that only happens when I am sick, and then I have to go to sleep early anyway."

Mother: "I know what I promised you, but you understand now, don't you?"

They kiss each other and return to the living room.

Fifteen minutes later, mother says: "Well, dear, we'll postpone your staying up late until Saturday. Then you can sleep late Sunday morning."

Gertrud: "No, I want to stay up late tonight."

Mother: "I have to give Steffi her bath tonight, but you'd better not take one because you have a cold. Be a good girl now and get undressed by yourself and jump into bed."

Gertrud: "Aw gee, and I was going to have such fun."

Mother: "Look, dear, you remember what we talked about, don't you?"

Gertrud: "Yes, I know, but still . . ."

While affection, conversation, and social intercourse were the parents' dominant purposes, their contacts with Gertrud frequently involved various ways of being of service to her (Figure 3a). Gertrud received aid, instruction and consideration to an extent well above the average, and the only service which she was required to render was of an organizational nature. In these matters, Mr. Ambros surrendered the final authority to his wife.

Gertrud has eaten her dessert. Father sits next to her and mother is feeding Steffi. Father says to his wife: "I think Gertrud would like another helping."

Mother: "No, she can't have any more."

This example shows that Mr. Ambros sometimes served as an intermediary between Gertrud and her mother, and that the latter had to assume the unpleasant task of making refusals.

The father usually was unwilling when called upon to assist his wife in disciplining the children. He carefully avoided doing anything that might be unpleasant to the children, leaving such necessary measures to his wife.

Shortly after seven o'clock on a winter evening, the children are in bed and mother is reading to them. Gertrud requests her to read a certain story, to which Mrs. Ambros replies: "All right, but that will

be all for tonight." Mr. Ambros signals his approval and his wife continues: "I'll have to read this in a hurry." She asks her husband to tell her the time, but he says that he has left his watch in the bathroom and leaves the room. Mother calls after him: "You didn't forget your watch at all, and it is quite late. I'll get through in a hurry." Gertrud laughs and says: "Daddy is an old story-teller, he didn't forget his watch at all."

Gertrud appeared to recognize her mother's authority in matters concerning the organization of family life and in the

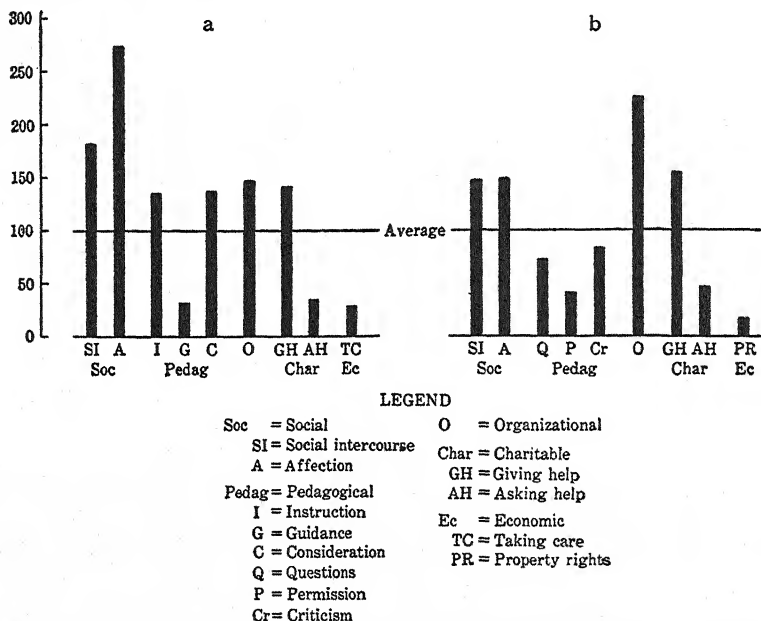


FIGURE 3.—Spontaneous Approaches (Intended Purposes): a. Parent-initiated; b. Initiated by Gertrud.

home in general. She believed that the house belonged to her mother and was surprised when she deciphered her father's name on the front door.

Gertrud: "The house is yours though, isn't it, mummy, and not daddy's?"

Mother: "No, dear, it is daddy's house."

In this family, pedagogical guidance in the strict sense of the word was absent. Gertrud gave her parents few opportunities for this. She asked few questions, was unusually kind and adjustable, and much interested and very helpful in organizing social life (Figure 3b), which was evident in her relations with her parents as well as with her younger sister. Instead of applying pedagogical measures directly, her mother had developed a pedagogical attitude which influenced all Gertrud's activities. Spontaneous conversations, toys and picture books, associations with Steffi, home furnishings, friendships and play activities with younger children, the objects on the street and the flowers in the park, the events taking place in the family circle—all these things were supervised, modified, and utilized by Mrs. Ambros so as to have a positive pedagogical effect. She was in full charge of rearing the children, her husband taking a hand only occasionally. We have noted before that his social purposes predominated over his pedagogical intentions. The following episode, in which he assisted the children at the cost of the development of their independence, was quite typical as an expression of his attitude:

Mother: "Children, bring your chairs out on the balcony."

Father takes two chairs out for them.

Situations which in other families would call for educational measures were made into pleasantries and fun, into a social game.

The maid carries Gertrud to her bed, covers her up completely, and says: "Mr. Ambros, where is Gertrud?"

Father pretends to hunt her.

Mother: "My stars, I'm afraid she is in the Danube by now," and explains that she has let the bath water run out without noticing that Gertrud was still in the tub. The latter throws the covers back and roars with laughter.

Demands for Gertrud to assist with household chores and to take care of objects occurred so infrequently that their very absence was characteristic of this relationship.

The forms which the contacts of these parents with their children assumed were remarkable because of the prevalence of

joint activities, the parents' receptiveness (they let the children tell them stories, show them things, etc.), and their educational technique. They preferred tricks to direct guidance through strict or lenient means (Figure 4 and Table 17).

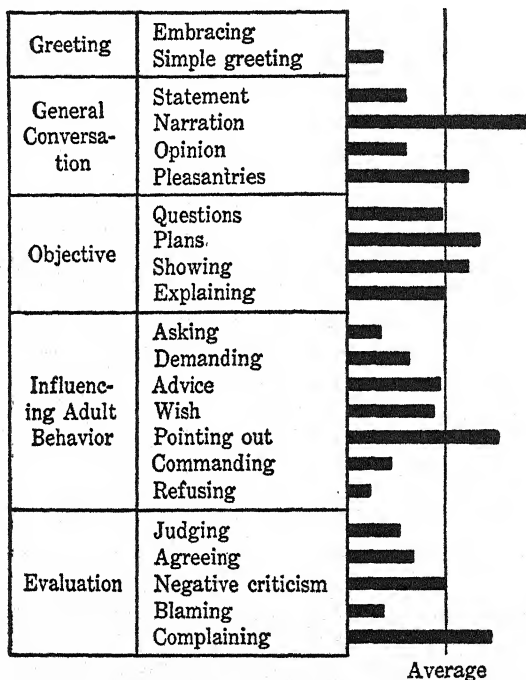


FIGURE 4.—Means Whereby Gertrud Established Spontaneous Contacts.

About half of all the tricks contained in our data were observed in this family. Even the maid attempted to imitate Mrs. Ambros in this respect. Gertrud often assisted her mother in the use of tricks to influence her little sister.

Mother calls to Steffi, who has gone to bed: "I thought you promised that you would not call me any more."

Steffi whines: "Au-au-au-au."

Gertrud: "Such a baby."

Steffi: "Au-au-au-au."

Gertrud: "Such a tiny little baby."

Steffi: "But I know how to gurgle."

Gertrud: "Well, then you are a baby that can gurgle."

Steffi: "No, I'm not a baby." She proceeds to gurgle.

However, this did not help Gertrud to recognize her mother's tricks and defend herself against them. Rather, she often prepared the way for tricks of which she later became the victim.

Mother wants to read to the children, who are in bed. She says: "Now look, you're both smart, big girls. Look at your father's watch. See, it's five after seven. We'll read till a quarter after and then we'll stop. And then, what'll happen next, Steffi?"

Steffi: "Sleep."

Mother tells her: "You know, last night Aunt Eva was here and she thought you were a tiny little baby that has to call her mamma every few minutes. And you didn't call me a single time. So she said that you must really be a big girl by now."

Gertrud: "Did she really, mummy?"

Mother: "Sure she did."

Gertrud: "And I did not call you either, did I?"

Mother: "No dear, you didn't."

This preference for educational tricks was, of course, part of the general affectionate atmosphere of this family. Conflicts with the children could most effectively be prevented by tricks. When the situation demanded action, the mother often resorted to mild reproach.

Gertrud and Steffi struggle to gain possession of the observer's muff. Mother interrupts: "Come now, Gertrud, you've had it long enough now."

Gertrud: "But I am walking in the park, and I need it."

Mother looks at her reproachfully.

Steffi attempts to get the muff away from Gertrud and begins to cry.

Mother looks at Gertrud entreatingly and says: "Please, dear."

The parents' non-verbal contacts with the child were well above the average in number. They consisted primarily of different manipulations. Gertrud's mother often dressed and un-

dressed her, fixed her hair, etc. Frequently her ministrations exceeded the child's wishes and expectations.

Mother wants to carry Gertrud from the bathroom to her bed.

Gertrud says energetically: "Don't carry me, let me go."

Mother: "Wait, I'll get your slippers. That's real nice of you."

Gertrud: "Sure; if you'd carry me, you might get out of breath."

It is easy to see what the consequences of this behavior were for the development of Gertrud's independence. She had diffi-

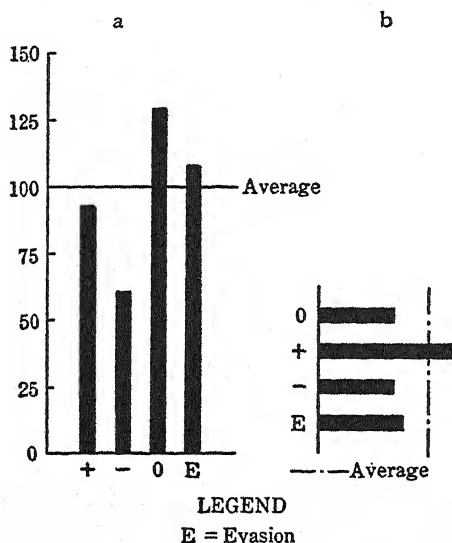


FIGURE 5.—Reactions: a. Of parents; b. Of Gertrud.

culty in helping herself; according to the maid, "If you don't tell her what to do all the time, she puts everything on backwards." On the other hand, Gertrud was taught to do her school work alone.

This shows that Mrs. Ambros was aware of the need for developing her child's independence, even though she did not apply it in ministering to her physical needs. This discrepancy becomes understandable when we consider her desire to have the children look their best, and especially this affectionate woman's need for close physical contact with her child. Many

of her activities consisted of straightening Gertrud's hair, fixing her clothes, etc., which she often did in the street car or on the street, and over Gertrud's protests.

It is consistent with their preference for tricks that the parents in their reactions to child-initiated approaches used evasive and zero responses rather than negative reactions (Figure 5a). Gertrud herself was one of the three most positive children in our group as far as her reactions were concerned (Figure 5b). She reacted negatively very seldom and her acceptance reactions were well above the average in frequency. Among the means by which she made contacts with others, her pleasure in joking and teasing, in telling her parents stories, showing them things, and calling their attention to things, stood out. Notwithstanding the distinctly positive structure of the relations between Gertrud and her parents, sudden negative emotional expressions were not rare on either side. Gertrud was fond of complaining and criticizing unnecessarily. She hardly ever asked or demanded anything directly, expressed few wishes and seldom asked for help, but preferred to express her needs indirectly by complaining.

Summary.—The Ambros family was a typical child-centered organization, characterized by intimate physical and social contacts between adults and children, and by a gentle treatment of the latter. They were brought up indirectly, by environmental conditions rather than direct pedagogical measures. While the father's behavior showed no appreciation of their educational needs, the mother maintained a nice balance between pedagogy and kindness. The father's rôle, then, was more that of a social and affectionate partner who had a tendency to spoil the children. The family spirit was affectionate and, on the whole, strongly emotional. The absence of objective demands on the children causes us to classify this family not only as child-centered, but also as one which was rich in educational stimulation and in which the children were spoiled.

II. THE BURIAN FAMILY

This family consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Burian and three children: Fritz (12.0), Erna (10.9), and Käthe (6.10). Their house,

surrounded by a pleasant garden, was in a suburb. Mr. Burian, who was employed in a government office, was extremely deaf. He was seldom home and had little influence on his family. The financial condition of the Burians was very good, but they employed no maid.

The parents initiated contacts with the girls with less than average frequency. Erna's spontaneous approaches to her parents were average in number, Käthe's below the average. In Erna's case, parental approaches were limited to her mother's; the father, when present, addressed himself occasionally to Käthe, but never to Erna (Table 11). His deafness restricted Mr. Burian's activities in the educational as well as the social realm.

It might be assumed that this condition would have increased the mother's desire for social contacts with her children. This, however, was not the case. Her social contacts with Käthe were average in proportion, but those with Erna were below average. Play situations gave her frequent opportunities for contact with Erna, and it might appear as if she often played with her. However, as may be seen from her intended purposes (Figure 6a), she never proposed a joint activity to her daughter. Her intentions, even when talking to her in play situations, were pedagogical or aimed at giving directions. As a result, Erna did not dare approach her mother for merely social purposes (Figure 6b); in this she differed from Käthe, who was very affectionate and was treated far differently by her mother (Figure 7a and 7b).

This relation between Erna and her mother was drastically illustrated by the unusual part which household situations played in it (Figure 8a and 8b). Erna represented to a marked degree a substitute for a maid. It may be concluded from the thoughtlessness and injustice with which Mrs. Burian demanded so much of Erna and so little of Käthe, that the mother's purposes were not really educational, and that her burdening her ten-year-old daughter with these duties was not a part of a carefully worked-out plan. With Käthe, household affairs were never discussed (Figure 9a and 9b). Mrs. Burian was especially

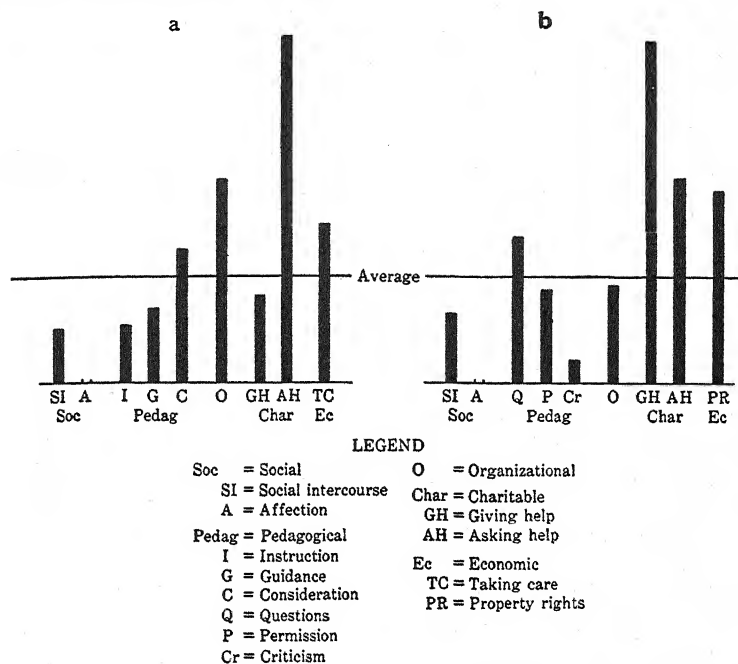


FIGURE 6.—Intended Purposes of Spontaneous Approaches: a. Parent-initiated; b. Initiated by Erna.

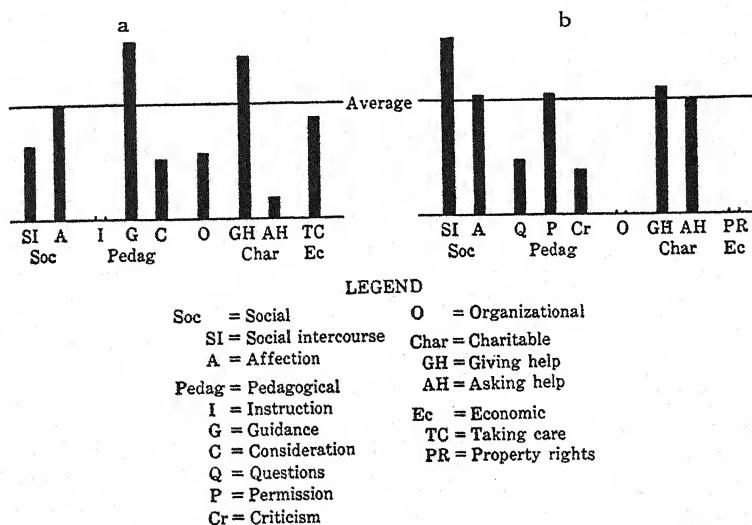


FIGURE 7.—Intended Purposes of Spontaneous Approaches: a. Parent-initiated; b. Initiated by Käthe.

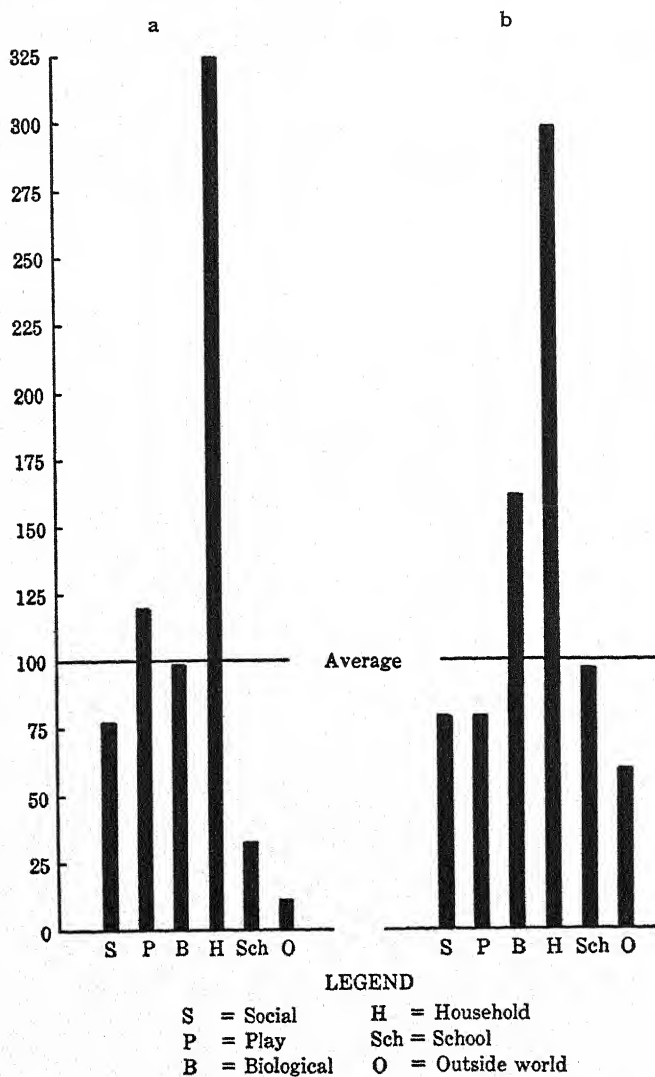


FIGURE 8.—Spontaneous Approaches (Situations): a. Parent-initiated;
b. Initiated by Erna.

concerned with Käthe's school work, but paid no attention to Erna's. The latter was given few pedagogical incentives, whereas her younger sister was instructed, guided, and given assistance to an extent far exceeding the normal. Erna, on the other hand, was given a subnormal amount of spontaneous assistance. She had to ask for it when needed, and spontane-

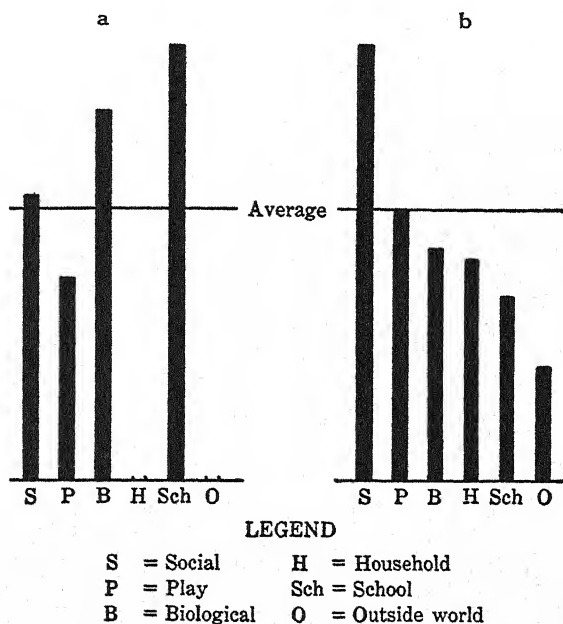


FIGURE 9.—Spontaneous Approaches (Situations): a. Parent-initiated; b. Initiated by Käthe.

ously offered her help even more than was requested. Demands on Käthe were practically limited to taking care of her own things and keeping them straight. The entire household was arranged in such a way that each member had certain well-defined duties. Erna had to do the cooking and assist with cleaning the house, Fritz had to attend to the garden, and Käthe had to help take care of her own things. For instance:

Mother gives Käthe her shoes, saying: "I have just brushed them off, but you'll have to polish them yourself. I'm no bootblack, you know." Käthe polishes her own shoes.

The children were often drawn into discussions concerning household problems, which constituted their mother's only real interest. For example, when Mr. Burian discussed with the observer the desirability of putting stained glass in some windows, he said: "My wife and Erna don't think it will look right." In such matters Erna always had a voice.

Even though Käthe's help was not solicited, she often volunteered it, if only because she spent so much of her time with Erna. She helped carry the wash tub, looked after the milk on the stove, etc. To a certain extent, everyone in the family had to take part in household activities, though to Erna obviously went the Cinderella part. The mother could be said to be unfriendly and unkind by refusing to give any assistance to this child. The following example illustrates this attitude and also Erna's surprise and gratitude when a third person was unexpectedly ready to help her:

Erna is sweeping the back porch. She calls to her mother, who is sitting on the balcony: "Mamma, I tore my dress," and laughs self-consciously. Mother, disturbed: "Where?" Erna shows her from below.

Mother, irritated: "You tore a whole piece out of it. How did you do that?"

Erna: "It got caught on a nail."

Mother: "What nail?"

Erna: "On the broom handle."

Mother: "That is because you hold it so stupidly. You have no business holding your broom that way. I'm not going to mend it for you, I don't care what you put on."

Erna, smiling self-consciously at the observer: "Well, I couldn't help it."

Mother: "No, of course not. I guess it was my fault."

Erna continues to sweep, but stops to ask: "Where must I put this rubbish?"

Mother: "In the ash can. Don't ask such dumb questions."

After finishing up, Erna comes upstairs. Mother examines her dress and repeats that she is not going to mend it.

Observer: "Take it off, Erna, I'll fix it for you."

Mother: "Well, I should say not."

Observer: "Sure, you haven't time for it, and I am not doing a thing just now."

Erna: "No, miss."

Observer: "Hurry up, take it off."

Erna: "Mamma, what'll I wear then?"

Mother: "I don't know, I guess you'll have to run around naked. Put your old school dress on."

Observer to mother: "Have you some sort of blue silk or yarn that I can use?"

Mother: "Now you just leave that alone, I don't want you to do it."

Observer: "Erna, you know where mother keeps her sewing things. Show me, will you?"

Erna: "I don't know."

Observer: "Come on, let's look for them."

They both go into the bedroom.

The observer is fixing Erna's dress. Erna embraces her and says: "What'll I give you for fixing it for me?"

Observer: "Nothing, Erna, nothing at all."

Erna: "Oh yes, I know what. I have a piece of my Easter candy left. I'll give you that."

Observer: "No, Erna, you eat that yourself. You haven't much left, anyway."

Erna: "That doesn't matter; that's all I have to give you. But you must remind me of it if I forget."

After the work is finished, Erna looks at it and says admiringly: "Gee, that's pretty." She again thanks the observer and promises to give her a piece of candy.

Before the observer leaves, Erna thanks her again and gives her the promised piece of candy, saying: "Look, miss, my last piece."

Observer: "No, Erna, you've got to eat the last piece yourself."

Erna: "No, no, I want you to have it."

The observer accepts the candy.

The utilitarian point of view which dominated Mrs. Burian's behavior also determined her educational method. This was shaped not according to some ideal which her children were expected to approach, but according to the practical demands of the household. The children were punished when they dis-

turbed her, damaged things, or made a nuisance of themselves. Bad manners, on the other hand, partly remained uncorrected and partly were mentioned disapprovingly without any serious attempt at modifying the children's behavior.

Mother says to Erna: "The way you're eating lately is terrible."

Erna replies: "What difference does that make; it tastes good."

Mother laughs.

Fritz mashes his vegetables noisily. Käthe and Erna imitate him.

Mother: "Don't do that, children, that isn't nice."

The children ignore this remark. Mother laughs and says: "Don't make such a racket, Hilde can't stand it, she isn't used to that."

When the children continue, mother says nothing more.

Similarly, the children were permitted to do things, not because they were good and desirable for them, but because they were practical and useful.

The observer is preparing to leave.

Käthe: "I'll go with you. I have to buy a pencil."

Mother: "All right."

When Erna wants to go along, mother says: "No, you can't go; I don't want both of you coming back dirty."

Erna does not want to eat her cherries, and says: "Mamma, I can't eat any more; I want to save them."

Mother: "And have another dish standing around? Either you eat them now or Fritz will eat them for you."

Erna: "But I want to save them, mamma."

Mother: "Well, I don't want you to."

Erna decides to eat them after all.

Mother: "Hurry eating, Erna, I want to clean the kitchen and don't want you kids sitting around any longer."

After all this, it is easy to understand that this mother did not consider playing with the children, showing them affection, or carrying on conversations with them. She lacked appreciation for anything that was not practical. Typical of her was a remark made when Käthe, an affectionate and charming child, brought to a visiting relative a bunch of flowers which she had picked in the garden. Mrs. Burian laughed and said: "They bring me a bunch of grass every day, too."

Both Erna and Käthe lived in this sober, practical atmosphere in which social intercourse, play, affection, and sociability for its own sake were unknown. This was a strictly adult environment in which the children's interests were hardly ever considered; they were thoughtlessly and automatically drawn into

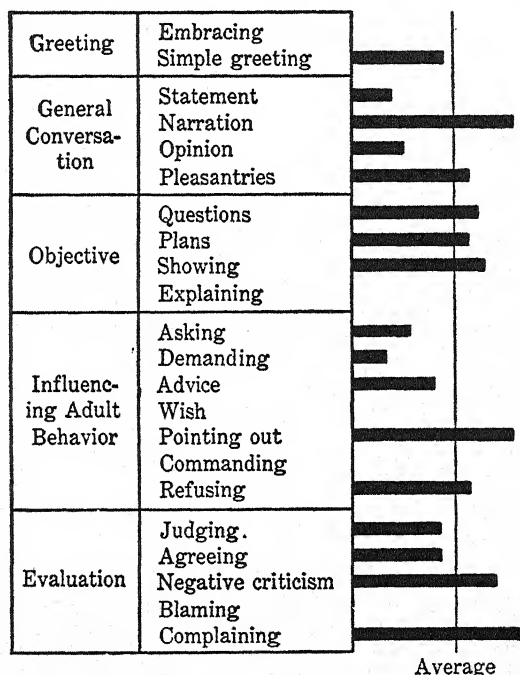


FIGURE 10.—Means Whereby Erna Established Contacts.

their mother's sole sphere of interest. Just how little consideration was given the children may be seen from the fact that wishes occurred not at all, and requests only rarely in the girls' spontaneous approaches to their parents (Figures 10 and 11). Furthermore, Figure 12a shows that Erna was often refused by her mother, who seldom turned Käthe down directly (Figure 12b) but preferred to give evasive answers or ignore her requests. The children, too, ignored their mother's instructions

quite habitually (Figure 13a and 13b). Hence, the means which Mrs. Burian used to assert her authority were often quite drastic.

Fritz has taken Käthe's ball away from her. Käthe pursues him crying, while he runs away laughing.

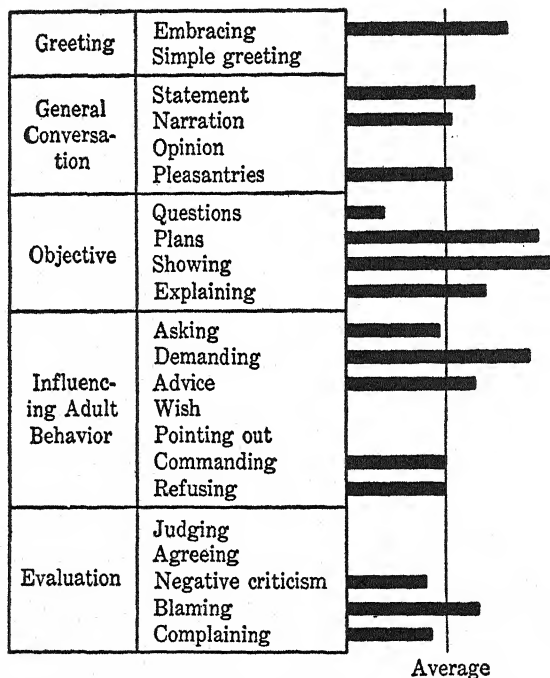


FIGURE 11.—Means Whereby Käthe Established Contacts.

Mother: "Don't holler like that; do you want the whole neighborhood to hear you?"

Käthe replies: "Mamma, make him give back my ball." She continues to chase him and cry.

Erna: "Käthe, stop that."

Mother, energetically: "Käthe, stop that right now."

When Käthe ignores her command, Mrs. Burian repeats several times: "Stop that, Käthe, or . . ."

When this has no effect, she seizes Käthe by the hand, shakes her, and says: "Now stop. Be quiet, Käthe."

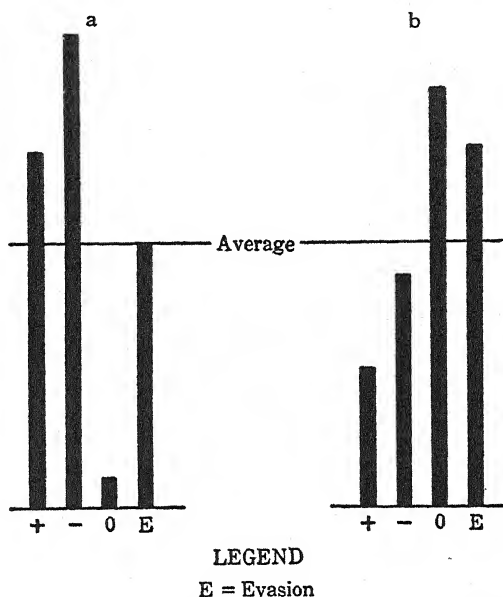


FIGURE 12.—Parental Reactions: a. To Erna; b. To Käthe.

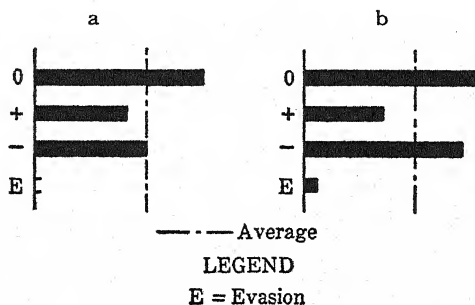


FIGURE 13.—Children's Reactions: a. Erna; b. Käthe.

When Käthe continues to cry, mother slaps her, saying: "Quiet." Käthe's crying becomes softer and ceases after the fifth slap.

In none of our families were negative educational measures as frequent as in this one, especially nagging and scolding. Evaluating educational measures, which were almost exclusively negative, constituted 14.7 and 16.2 per cent of the mother's approaches to Käthe and Erna, respectively, compared to an average of 11.5 per cent for the entire group.

Summary.—The Burian family was a social unit in which practical, utilitarian points of view and household interests predominated, and in which the children's interests were ignored. Although Mrs. Burian nagged and fussed a great deal, the children were not really trained by her; rather, her activities in this respect were limited to situations involving their ability to shift for themselves and their willingness to cooperate. Because any consideration of the children's interests and desires was lacking, as were affection and understanding of their play activities which would counteract the too early serious tone of their lives, this environment must be considered very one-sided and unfavorable for children. Whereas in the Ambros family, life centered around the child, here it centered around the household, more so for Erna than for Käthe. The mother attended adequately to Käthe's school and biological needs, but she treated Erna as an independent adult and a family servant.

III. THE CERMAK FAMILY

This family consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Cermak and two children, Ilse (10.10) and Berthold (8.9). There was one maid. Their home was a newly decorated modern house in the center of the city. Mr. Cermak, an architect, was often home during our observation periods and took part in everything concerning the children. His spontaneous approaches to them were half as frequent as those of his wife, which made him the most active father in our group (Table 11).

The children were often treated collectively, that is to say, they were often addressed together with the same approach. Such collective contacts also occurred in the Ambros and Burian families, but not as frequently as in this home, where they constituted one-fourth of all the adult-initiated approaches. They

influenced both the quantity and the distribution of individual contacts, because the latter were few in number and occurred especially rarely in connection with approaches whose purposes or forms could be made to include both children.

In this family, social situations and those involving the outside world were particularly important (Figures 14a and 14b, 15a and 15b). In contrast to Gertrud's family, social situations did not center around the children nor were they emotional on the parents' part. Rather, the organization of family life was the first consideration; in addition, the children received a great deal of assistance and instruction (Figure 16a and 16b). Both children were very gentle and displayed a lively interest in sociability and conversation. They demanded much assistance and consideration, and were very critical (Figure 17a and 17b). Ilse especially was in the habit of asking many questions. Though the adults demanded little help of the children, their taking part in the social order of the family was emphasized. Life in this home centered around the social unit, which was distinguished by order, mutual assistance, and consideration. Ilse had many wishes and requests (Figure 18) which were granted very frequently (Figure 19a), as were Berthold's (Figure 19b). Both children were unusually positive in their own reactions (Figure 20a and 20b), which did not prevent Berthold from much criticizing, refusing, accusing, and complaining. At the same time, he teased and joked, was affectionate in his greetings and expressions of gratitude, and gave as much as he demanded (Figure 21).

In this family, conversations covered a wide range of subjects, and at times were rather free.

Mother is telling about the maid and her boy friend. Berthold says: "Lina has a sweetheart." The children giggle.

Mother: "I don't know what you kids are giggling for. They love each other, and there's nothing funny about that."

Sometimes Mr. Cermak entered the conversation jokingly, while his wife was usually interested in further details.

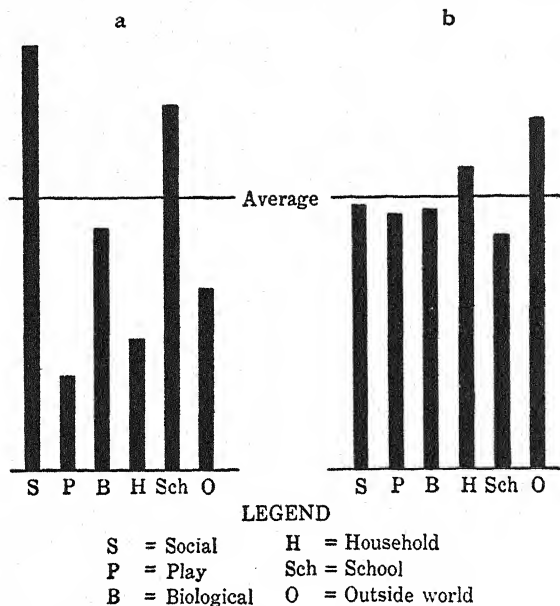
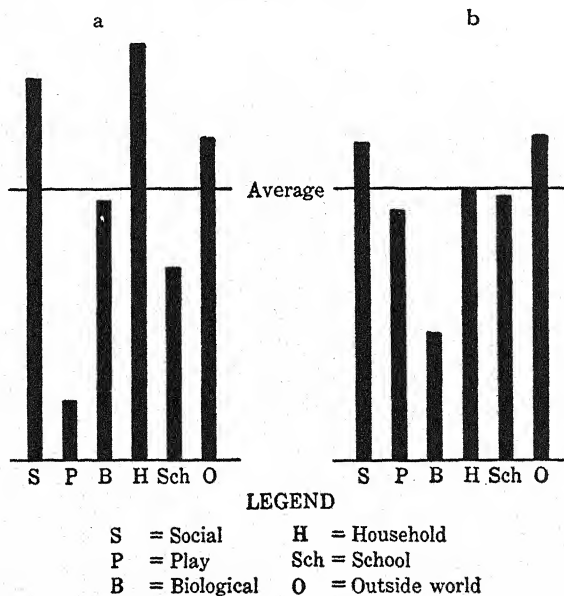


FIGURE 14.—Spontaneous Approaches of Parents (Situations): a. To Ilse; b. To Berthold.



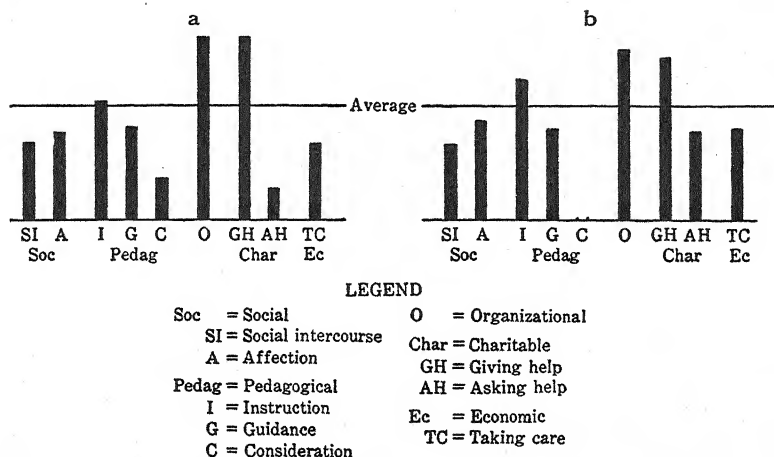


FIGURE 16.—Intended Purposes of Parent-initiated Approaches: a. To Ilse; b. To Berthold.

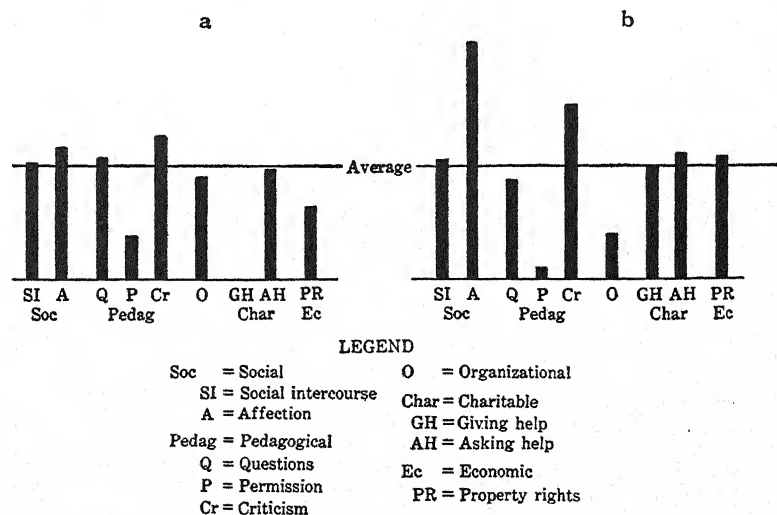


FIGURE 17.—Intended Purposes of Child-initiated Approaches: a. Ilse; b. Berthold.

Ilse softly sings a self-made song: "This pretty miss all handsome fellows like to kiss."

Father: "Who is that lady? Where could I see her?"

Ilse: "On the street, or on the ice. But on the ice she is never alone."

Father: "Does she look different then?"

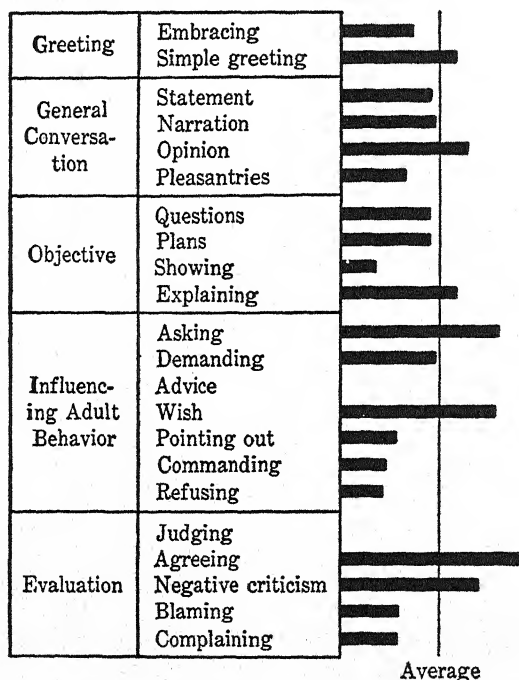


FIGURE 18.—Means Used by Ilse to Establish Contacts.

Ilse ignores this remark and continues with her story.

Mother: "What sort of company does she keep, then?"

Ilse: "Oh, different fellows. One is called Kurt, the other Paul and then there is Conrad and Rolf. We always follow her and tell her, when we see her in school, whom we saw her with, and then she gets mad."

The fact that the children were rather critical can be explained by the freedom in social situations in this family and the small amount of educational measures taken by the parents.

Berthold is made to go skating against his will. He returns after an hour and says to his mother: "It would have been much better if

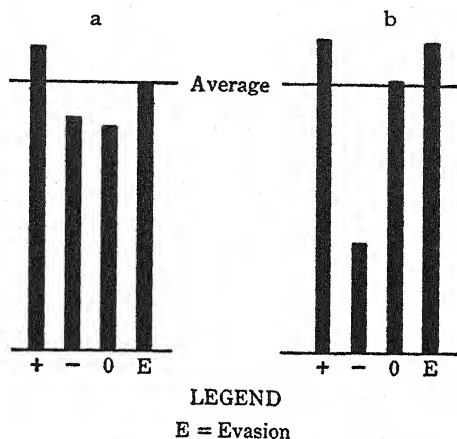


FIGURE 19.—Parental Reactions: a. To Ilse; b. To Berthold.

I had gone walking. But you always want to know better. Darn that ice, anyway."

Mother does not answer.

Berthold is getting dressed and takes out of the closet a woollen under shirt.

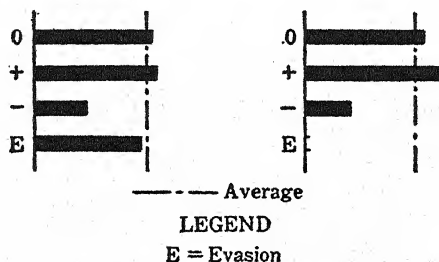


FIGURE 20.—Children's Reactions: a. Ilse; b. Berthold.

Mother: "Not that heavy one, that is too warm. Take the thin one that I put out for you."

Berthold: "The heavy one is cooler because it has holes in it and the air can go through, but the thin one doesn't. You don't even know what is cooler."

Mother permits him to go ahead, and father remains silent.

Mother scolds Ilse because she forgot to complete her school work in geography, saying: "It is terrible how unreliable you are. I don't know, I never did like to go to school myself, but I had such a feeling of duty that I could not have managed to go to school without having all my work done."

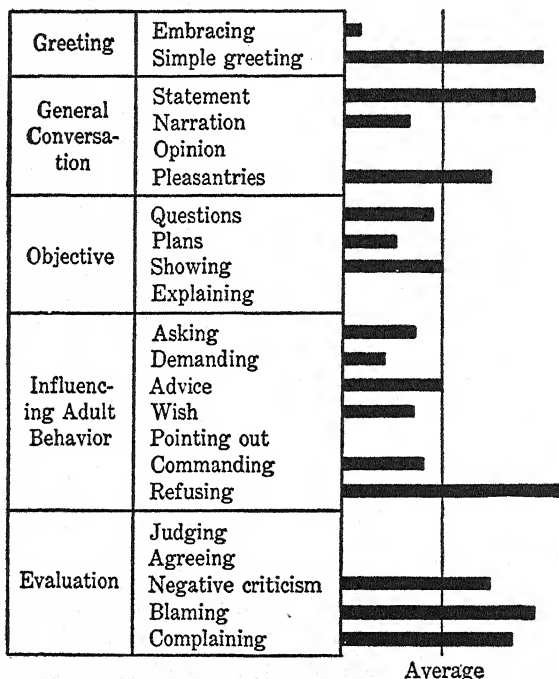


FIGURE 21.—Means Used by Berthold to Establish Contacts.

Ilse: "Yes, of course, you are so dutiful anyway, so . . ." Failing to find the proper word, she gives up.

Berthold places his chair under the table.

Mother: "I don't believe you have washed your hands yet; don't you know that that comes first?"

Berthold explodes: "I only got my chair ready. Don't you understand anything?"

He describes circles on his temple with his index finger.

Parents do not react.

Berthold discusses mountain-climbing with the observer. "I would have gone right to the top, but mamma did not want me to. She is terribly scared; I can't understand how anyone can be so afraid."

Sports played a prominent part in their education, although Ilse's school work was taken quite seriously.

Mother comes into the room where the observer and the children are giving each other riddles to solve. She says: "I wonder if there is ice on the pond this afternoon? If there is, you'd better go skating, Berthold."

Berthold: "No, I don't want to go by myself."

Observer suggests that she take a walk with him instead.

Mother: "No, if it is possible, he should skate."

She sends the maid to find out and, when informed that the pond is frozen over, mother says: "You can get dressed right away, Berthold."

Berthold: "But I don't want to go by myself. I'd rather go for a walk with her."

Mother: "No, no, skating is better for you. We have to take advantage of it, because there won't be ice much longer." She continues to persuade Berthold.

On one occasion Mrs. Cermak told the observer that she was going to take the children to the movies, but had not quite decided what they were going to see. Her husband wanted her to take them to *Sun in the Mountains* because they would see some good skiing in it.

The father especially was deeply interested in the athletic development of his children and, in general, participated in their education more than is usual.

Ilse has difficulty mastering a new stroke, but father pays no further attention to her and directs his instructions to Berthold, who listens attentively and attempts to skate in the way his father wants him to.

Father says to the observer: "Berthold does not talk much and practices. Ilse keeps on jabbering and does not pay much attention. When you show the boy something, he keeps on trying until you show him something else again, but Ilse soon loses interest. She has

to be prodded right along, but Berthold doesn't, he stays right with it."

Mrs. Cermak placed great value on order and neatness, and she alone required the children to straighten things out.

Mother calls for the children at their grandmother's. Berthold has to put the blocks with which they have been playing back into the box. Mother tells him to hurry because his father is waiting. An aunt suggests that Berthold leave them and that she will clean them up, but mother retorts: "No, just let him do it; he has to straighten them out himself."

The mother was very consistent in her educational measures.

Mother (after Berthold has finally been persuaded to go skating): "I don't know why he always puts up an argument. It never gets him anywhere." She smiles.

This same principle is shown in the form of advice to an adult in the following example:

In the course of a walk, an aunt tells Berthold that he will be sent straight home if he doesn't behave. Mother (to observer): "Now she is on dangerous ground," adding softly to her sister: "Never say anything that you aren't prepared to carry out."

Mr. Cermak also was very definite in his infrequent demands.

Ilse argues with her mother whether she or Berthold has to call the maid. Father says: "Stop that, you call her and don't talk back."

Educational measures in this family often took the form of objective organization.

Summary.—This family gave every member his appropriate share of consideration; order, mutual assistance and sociability were guiding principles, and parents and children were united by a distinctly positive attitude. Family life was fuller here because of the father's vivid participation in it. The spirit of this home was intimate, though not sentimental. Ilse and her father in particular engaged in many pleasantries and jokes—18.5 per cent of all his approaches to her were made in fun. The children's education was definitely positive, especially on the part of the father. A free and unrestricted atmosphere prevailed, and the children were treated consistently.

IV. THE DOSTAL FAMILY

The Dostal family consisted of father, mother, and two children, Heinz (7.3) and Liesl (3.0). They employed a nurse and a

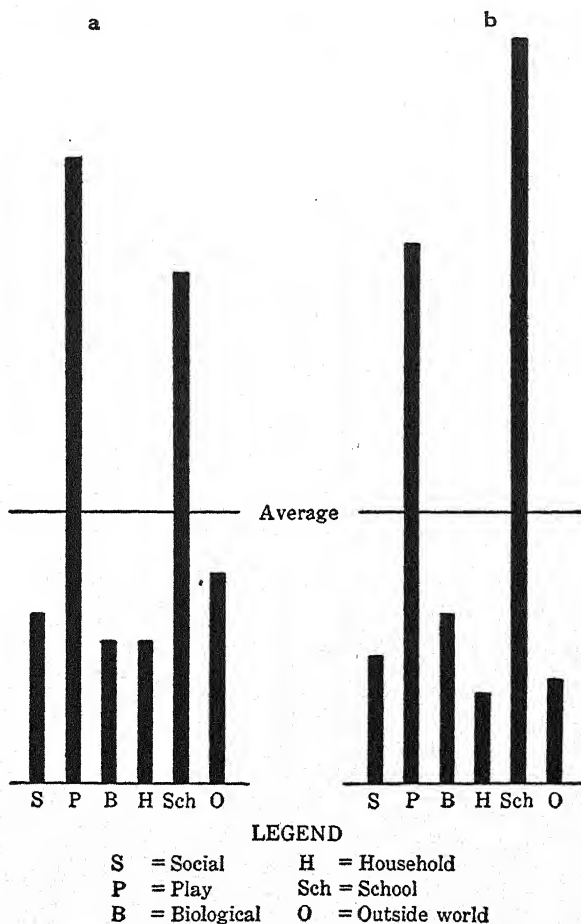


FIGURE 22.—Contact Situations: a. Parent-initiated; b. Initiated by Heinz.

maid, were quite well-to-do, and lived in the center of the city. The father, a merchant, was seldom present during our observation periods; Heinz, who was our subject, spent most of his

time with his nurse, whose contacts with him were three times as frequent as his mother's (Table 11).

In this family, contacts were extremely one-sided. Figures 22a, 22b, 23a, and 23b show that school and play situations

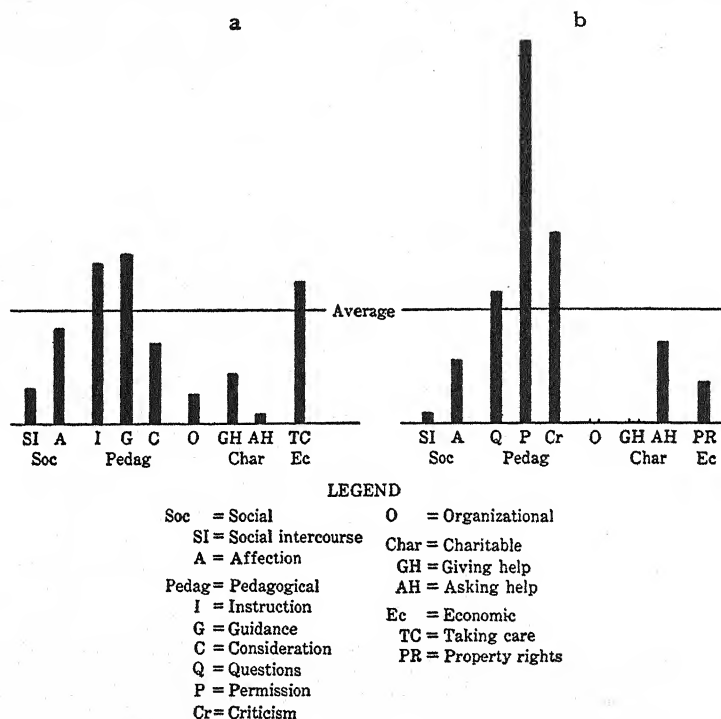


FIGURE 23.—Intended Purposes: a. Parent-initiated Contacts; b. Contacts Initiated by Heinz.

prevailed, especially as they gave rise to educational contacts. During his play activities and in connection with his school work, Heinz was given continuous instruction and guidance and urged to respect his surroundings. To a large extent, his behavior necessitated these constant pedagogical measures. He alone of all the children whom we observed displayed unfriendly and irritating behavior traits to any considerable extent. He asked more questions than anyone could answer and demanded

more assistance than anyone could give him. On the part of the parents as well as the children, the contacts in this family centered around education, questions, and wishes. Affection and conversation played only minor parts. Heinz himself was very frigid; he demanded and ordered people around (Figure 24), never expressed approval or pleasure, and seldom joked or

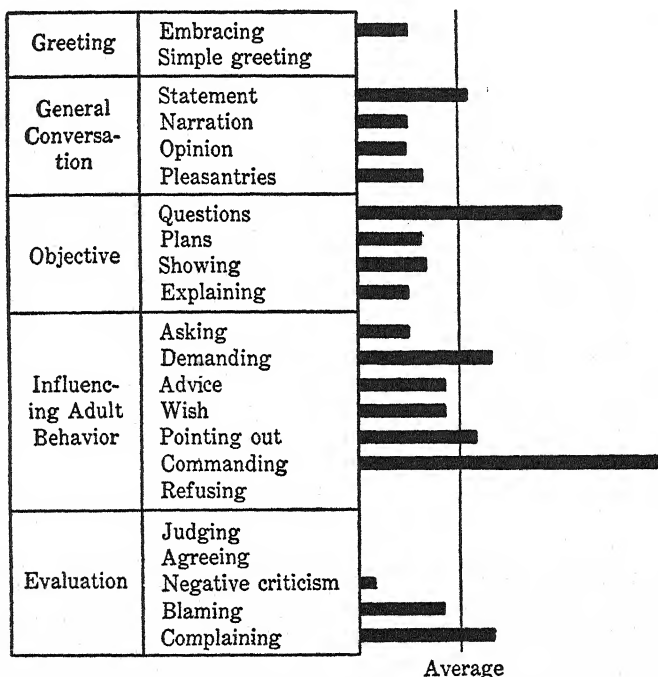


FIGURE 24.—Means Whereby Heinz Initiated Contacts.

teased. His mother did not know how to maintain the objective demands of the other members of the family against his excessive personal demands, so that everything he was required to do was something personal. Each life situation grew into a personal struggle between Heinz and his environment because he did not heed suggestions, and the people in his environment did not possess enough sense of humor or the ability to secure his spon-

taneous cooperation. Tricks, evasions and mutually negative reactions were typical of this family (Figure 25a and 25b).

Liesl has been bathed and dried. Heinz is in the tub and sings at the top of his voice. Nurse: "It seems to me that our nice evening will be all off." (They had planned an evening of phonograph music together.) Heinz begins to throw water at Liesl and the nurse.

Nurse: "If you don't quit right away, you'll go straight to bed and we won't have any fun tonight."

After she has taken Liesl to her room, the nurse returns to wash Heinz. When she asks him to lift his leg, he sticks his arm out of the

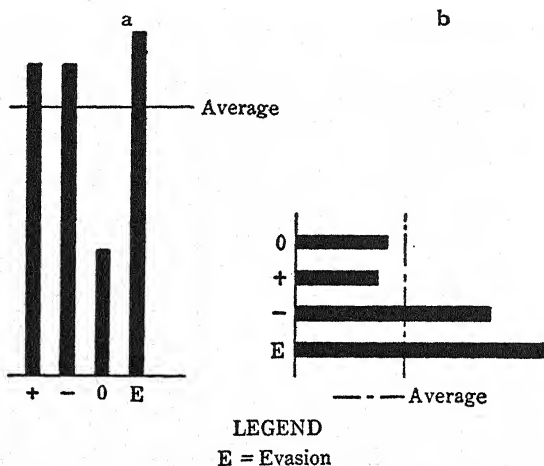


FIGURE 25.—Reactions: a. Parents; b. Heinz.

water and says: "Here is my foot, madame." He laughs uproariously when he touches the nurse with his wet hand. When the nurse tries to dry him off, he stirs around, picks up a box with powder and begins to throw it around until the nurse takes it away from him. After a moment's rest, he musses up her hair. She says: "Heinz, you are terrible tonight. Here, put your pajama pants on." He starts to put them on, sitting on a chair, and complains: "I can't do it, sister."

Nurse: "Come on now, don't talk nonsense."

He leans on her heavily and puts his trousers on laboriously. After he has put on his pajama tops and his slippers, he starts to leave, but the nurse calls him back to brush his teeth. While doing

this, he opens the tap wide so the water sprinkles the nurse. She slaps his hand.

The following is a good example of the lack of a sense of humor on the part of the nurse, who was interested only in "nice" behavior:

Heinz opens up his sandwich.

Nurse: "What do you do that for?"

Heinz: "Because."

Nurse: "Why?"

Heinz repeats: "Because."

Nurse: "I want to know why you do that."

Heinz: "So I can see my piece of ham better."

When the nurse enters the room, Heinz runs up to her and wants to pull her down on the floor with him.

Nurse: "Heinz, are you crazy?"

Heinz: "You dumb little goose."

Nurse: "Now we know where Liesl picks up those nice expressions of hers."

It was only natural that this soberness and stiffness, the constant rational demands made on him, and the inability ever to express an irrational impulse which characterized his nurse and to some extent also his mother, provoked a boy like Heinz and tended to make him worse.

Liesl plays on the floor with her automobile. Heinz looks on.

Nurse: "You'll never get your school work done that way, Heinz. You'd better go to the dining room."

Heinz: "No, I don't want to. Please let me stay here."

Nurse: "But that is no punishment, Heinz. You can't work here while Liesl is playing."

Heinz begins to cry: "No, I don't want to go to the other room."

Nurse: "No nonsense. Come on, bring your chair."

She carries his desk to the dining room. Heinz follows reluctantly.

Summary.—The Dostal family offered an example of an environment centered around education. The father did not constitute a real factor in this social unit, and for Heinz the environment consisted of the nurse and, to a lesser degree, his mother. All other objective and personal purposes disappeared in comparison with the dominant one. In the same way in which the

Burian family did not constitute a social unit but a household, the Dostal family may be called an educational institution in so far as it provided an environment for the children.

V. THE ERHARDT FAMILY

The family consisted of father, mother, grandmother, and Hans (8.9). There was one maid in this well-to-do suburban home. Hans was the type of only child well suited to refute the many theories and observations tending to show the unfavorable development of only children.

The excessive prevalence of contact situations involving the outside world was particularly noteworthy (Figure 26a and 26b). This fact resulted from Hans' personal interests in posters and signs.¹ His conversations, questions, statements, and plans developed mainly when he was out walking.

The dominant parental purpose in this family was sociability. Hans, too, was a gentle child (Figure 27a and 27b). The adults enjoyed the boy's companionship and he was made a part of everything that interested the other members of the family. However, he was not the center of attention as much as Gertrud was in the Ambros family, and consequently he was not spoiled. He was expected to assist in various ways, and as a result he was deeply interested in questions on the organization and objective structure of family life. He received much instruction and was very curious himself. The social order in this home was unusually harmonious and many-sided, and Hans was the happiest of our subjects. He was extremely positive in his behavior. Negative criticism and complaints occurred rarely; accusations never (Figure 28). At the same time, negative reactions on the part of the adults were very infrequent (Figure 29a and b).

Mr. Erhardt took an active part in family life in general, and in Hans' education in particular. Both parents were deeply interested in the boy and he often was the subject of their conversations, even in his presence.

Hans shows his new shoes to a visitor.

Mother: "I bought those for him today. He has never had Oxfords because he has such a low instep and he is not used to them."

¹ See further, Edeltrud Baar, "Die geistige Welt des Schulkindes."

Mother and Hans are visiting; father arrives later. Before the latter has been able to do more than greet his host, mother interrupts: "Hans had a toothache today and I took him to the dentist."

Father: "You don't say."

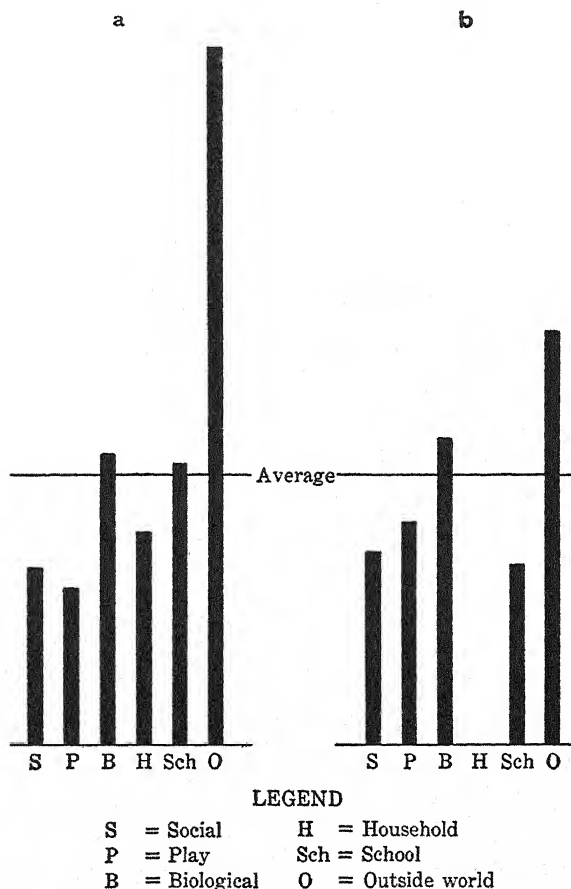


FIGURE 26.—Contact Situations: a. Parent-initiated; b. Initiated by Hans.

It is probable that being the center of interest would have done Hans some harm, had it not been for the fact that objective demands were made on him. Educational measures in this family were applied more for the sake of giving information than

for pedagogical guidance. His mother supervised his manners and behavior tendencies, and his father was particularly interested in his acquiring information. Mr. Erhardt spent much of his time explaining, narrating, and pointing out different things to him on the street. He was delighted when Hans observed closely and gave evidence of thinking.

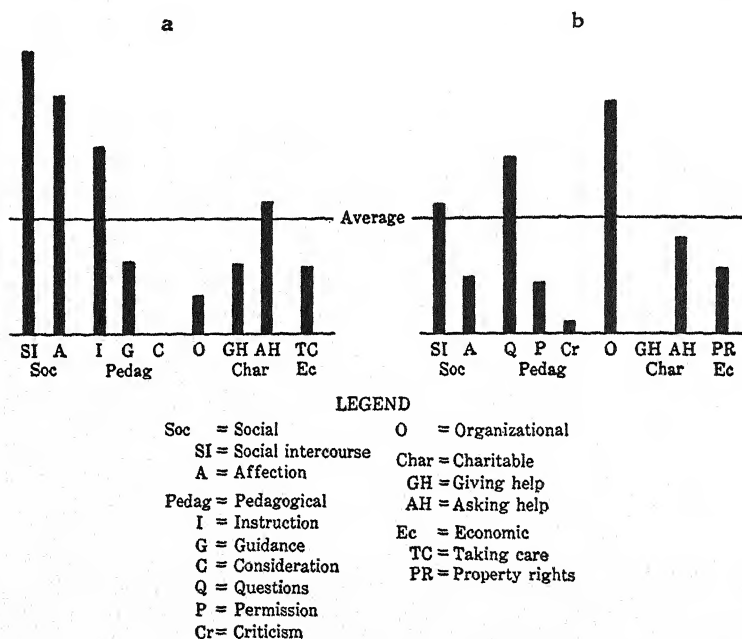


FIGURE 27.—Intended Purposes: a. Parents; b. Hans.

Father tells the observer: "Hans noticed right away that the store was a hundred years old. He read: 'Established in 1832.'"

Whereas his mother took Hans' school work seriously, his father did not.

Father: "Here are some of my Greek schoolbooks."

While showing them to Hans, he finds some slips of paper in them.

Father: "These were used for cheating."

Hans: "Where?"

Father: "In class."

Hans is astonished, but his father smiles and says: "You'll do that

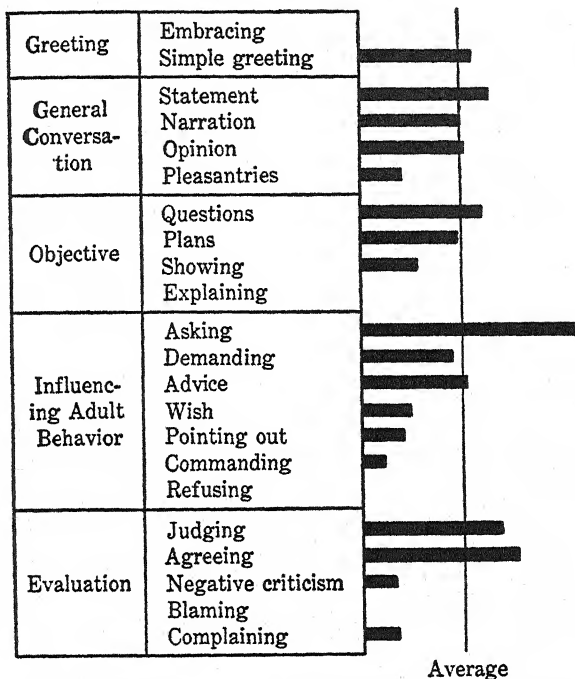
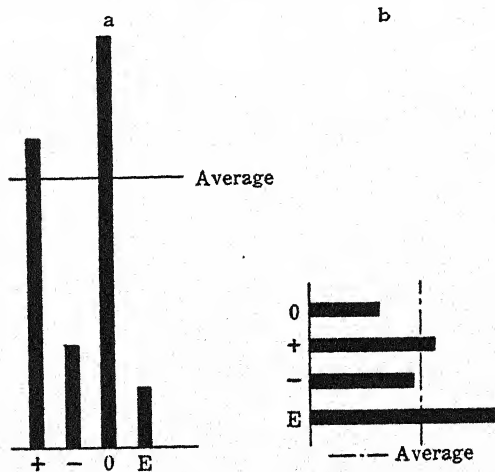


FIGURE 28.—Means Whereby Hans Established Contacts.



LEGEND

E = Evasion

FIGURE 29.—Reactions: a. Parents; b. Hans.

The educational measures used by the Erhardt family were decidedly positive and aimed at arousing desire, pleasure, and enjoyment. Advice and suggestions accounted for 34 per cent of them, whereas threats, scolding, and punishment were entirely absent. The father joked and teased often and brought his son up like an older brother.

Summary.—The Erhardt family constituted a very harmonious unity in which the joint relations were unusually positive. Affection and sociability were pronounced purposes, but the objective training of the child in matters requiring his cooperation and the acquisition of objective information were not neglected.

VI. THE FABIAN FAMILY

The family consisted of mother, grandmother, and two children, Ada (13.0), and Rudi (9.3). They lived in a small house in a workers' quarter, far from the center of town. Mrs. Fabian worked; she was separated from her husband, who was a high school teacher.

The grandmother, who was absorbed in household duties, seldom had contacts with the children. We concentrated our observations on Rudi in his relations to his mother.

Household situations gave the most frequent occasions for contacts because Mrs. Fabian had constant financial worries and demanded much cooperation from the children (Figures 30a and 31a). They were expected to perform many domestic chores and to look after things in the home. Since the mother spent all of her spare time with the children, contacts in social situations were also frequent. She often played cards with the children; they did not enjoy this much and it gave rise to many scenes and arguments. Rudi was very critical of his mother and expected her to respect his opinion at all times (Figure 31b). She gave him the upper hand because he was smart and she was afraid of him since she felt that he "saw through her." Her contacts with her son showed great respect for his opinions and demands, even though she attempted to educate him somewhat, but without any definite plan. Mother and son were alike in the excessive selfishness of their demands on each other.

Rudi's contacts often took the form of claiming property rights, in which he exceeded all the other children whom we observed. The relations between mother and child were characterized by this interplay of Mrs. Fabian's demands that he assume his share of her tasks and worries, and Rudi's claims of property rights and demands for consideration. Since his mother gave in to him, was afraid of him, and could not maintain herself

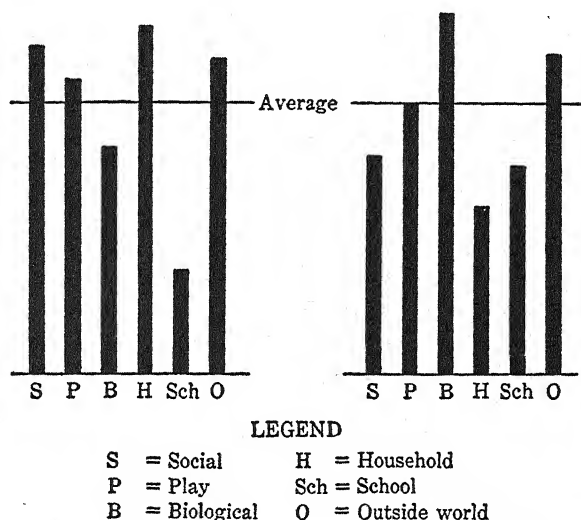


FIGURE 30.—Contact Situations: a. Initiated by Mother and Grandmother;
 b. Initiated by Rudi.

against him, he organized the household and dictated to his mother. It was evident from his behavior toward the observer that much was lacking in his contacts with his mother. He expressed much affection and curiosity toward the observer, and in her presence he was alert and interested. In these respects his mother failed him, so that he often criticized her and refused to obey (Figures 32 and 33b). This same negative attitude prevailed on the part of his mother, who seldom agreed with him (Figure 33a).

Some play situations illustrated the spirit of this relationship.

It will be noted that arguments and fussing rather than social conversation prevailed during their games.

Mother: "Leave those dice a minute after you have rolled them, so I can check up on you. You always try to cheat. I don't know how you can be so dishonest."

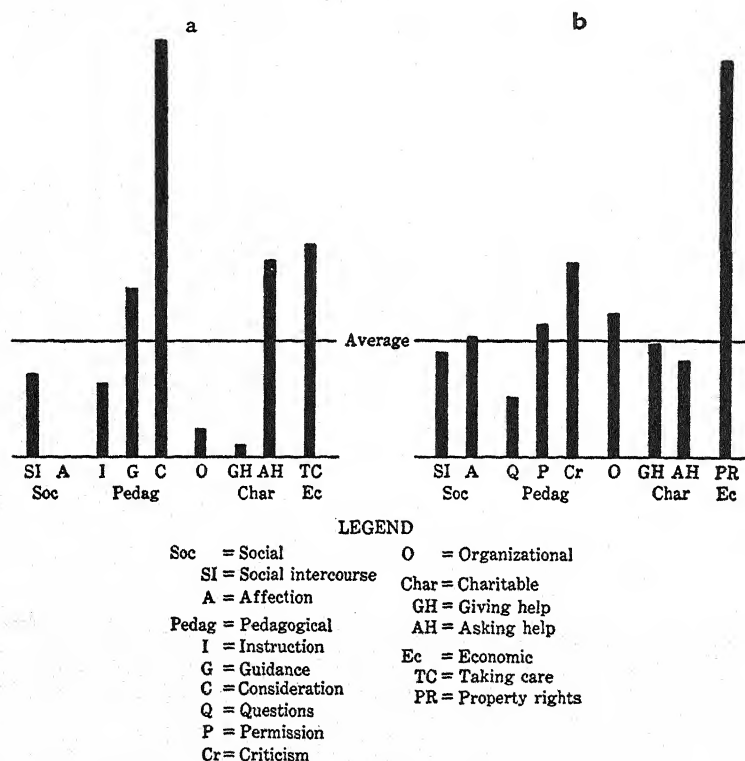


FIGURE 31.—Intended Purposes: a. Adults; b. Rudi.

A die has rolled on the floor, showing a six. Rudi is elated, but mother says: "No, that doesn't count, you've got to roll them on the table."

Rudi wants to advance his token. Mother prevents it by taking his hand off it, saying: "Too late."

Rudi objects: "But I rolled a six."

Mother does not give in and explains that he should not have

rolled a second time immediately after the first throw. The exchange of words becomes heated. Rudi makes another attempt at advancing his token, but is prevented by his mother.

Rudi has upset the board by kicking against the table. Mother berates him: "You clumsy boy, you always have to upset the game."

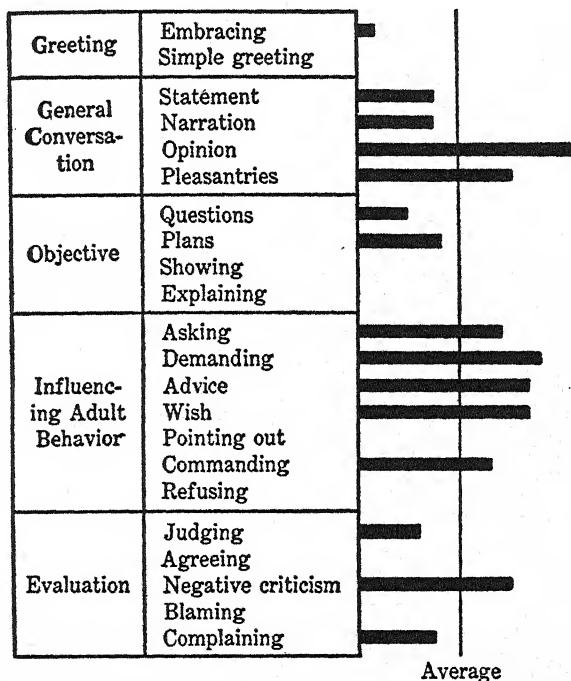


FIGURE 32.—Means Whereby Rudi Initiated Contacts.

Rudi retorts: "Yes, and you always have to scold," adding mockingly: "Ta-ta-ta-ta."

Mother slaps him and says: "Shut up, or we'll stop playing."

Mrs. Fabian completely forgot her rôle of pedagogue during these games and allowed herself to be drawn into them emotionally. She took part in a game even when Rudi already had a partner. In such a case, she would give his partner advice and take the cards away from her, until finally she took her place.

Rudi plays with the observer. Mother stands behind the observer, who does not know the game well, and advises her. She becomes so interested that she commences to throw the dice for the observer and gradually takes her place, so that the latter becomes a spectator.

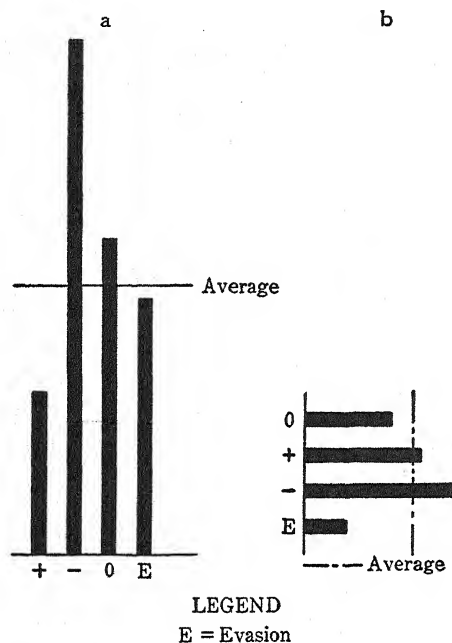


FIGURE 33.—Reactions: a. Adults; b. Rudi.

Both mother and son become elated when they take a man away from their opponent, signifying this by exclaiming: "That's right!" "Go on back!" "That's swell!" etc.

Mother is playing with Rudi. Grandmother enters and says: "Miss P. is here with your work."

Mother: "Tell her to wait in the kitchen, I'll be with her in a minute."

She continues playing until her mother returns after three minutes and says: "Miss P. is still waiting in the kitchen."

Mother: "All right, I'm coming."

She throws a few more times before going to the kitchen.

Mrs. Fabian even played with her son for money, usually for penny stakes. On one occasion Rudi said to the observer: "Do you know that I won six cents from mamma last night?" Since the aim became to win money from each other, Rudi began to look upon these games more or less as a business proposition. He put his winnings into his savings bank and insisted on the observer's putting up stakes, even though she had not become an expert at his games. When the mother noticed this, she said:

"That is a dirty trick, to play for money when someone does not know much about the game and take their money away from them."

The mother lacked self-control and was easily excited. In contrast to the mothers in the previously discussed families, she did not preserve any distance between herself and her child; she did not represent an educational supervisor, but a partner whom the child could excite into making unrepressed emotional reactions.

Mother tells the observer: "The kids worry me a lot. They don't give me any rest from early morning till late at night. Sometimes they make me so mad I could strangle them. Especially Rudi; he makes me madder than anybody. He's up to something else every day."

Rudi: "Let me tell you something, miss. Do you know when mamma gets mad at me? Every time when she loses, and that happens every night."

Mother: "We don't even play games every night."

Rudi: "But when we play, I always win, and then mamma gets into a burning . . . (he hunts the word) . . . fury."

Mother laughs.

In the course of a hike, Ada tells her mother that she would rather walk with the observer than with her, because then she could do everything she wanted.

Rudi adds: "Yes, and she doesn't fuss like you do."

He raises his pitch and speaks rapidly with a good imitation of his mother's tone of voice and emotion: "I'll never go out with you kids again. I get nothing but trouble for it. I have to shout my head off and still you don't mind me. I'll tell you right now, once but never again. This is the last time I've gone hiking with you, even if you promise me ten times that you'll behave next time . . ."

The following direct observation of behavior offers a further case in point:

On the family's return from a trip to the country it has started to rain. Mother becomes irritable, but the children are in excellent spirits, singing and jumping around, which increases their mother's irritation. Suddenly she slaps Rudi's face and says: "Shut up."

Her method of discussion is illustrated by the following observation:

Mother tells the observer about Rudi's last teacher.

Rudi interjects: "He is now president of the school board and principal of the school."

Mother: "No, he is only president of the parent-teacher association."

Rudi: "And he is school principal, too."

Mother, getting angry: "Such nonsense; he has nothing to do with school matters, he told me so himself."

Rudi insists, insulted because his interpretation is not believed. Mother raises her voice in irritation: "Such nonsense; he hasn't got a thing to do with the school."

As was true in the Burian family, these children did not live their own lives, but that of their mother and the household. Not only were they expected to assist with the chores, but all of their mother's economic problems and occupational worries were discussed before them, and Rudi knew all about her financial condition.

On the day that his mother has received some work to do, Rudi tells the observer: "I'll bet she'll be working all night again."

The observer asks Mrs. Fabian whether she has work to do that would keep her busy all day.

Mother smiles happily: "Yes, but that doesn't matter, I have a large order now."

Rudi, intense: "A large order? From whom?"

Mother: "Ada knows. From auntie."

Rudi: "The one that was here yesterday?"

Mother: "Yes." She explains that they are going to send a large consignment to Switzerland.

Rudi listens attentively, smiling happily, and says: "Better charge them plenty, they can pay for it."

Mother smiles.

Later, Rudi asks Ada: "What kind of an order is it? How many? And what kind of work?"

Ada: "A good many, about three hundred schillings."

Rudi: "Swell."

Rudi and the observer are out walking. He points to a woman and says angrily: "That woman still owes mamma money. She's a fine one, dressed in the latest fashion and owing people money."

Ada tells further details.

Rudi adds: "That is a dirty trick, buying everything you can think of and dressing in the latest fashion with other people's money. Mamma's, too; she still owes her money."

The children accepted their mother's not always irreproachable morality which was inconsistent with her teachings.

Rudi says to the observer in the street car: "If you hadn't thrown that transfer away, you could have used it again."

Observer: "It would have been too late, anyway. It has been more than half an hour."

Ada: "But it is good for an hour or an hour and a half."

Observer: "Well, I have ridden on it for 45 minutes."

Rudi: "That doesn't make any difference. Mamma does it this way: she tells the conductor that she got sick and had to get off, and she usually gets by with it. She knows most of the conductors on this line, and they leave her alone."

Ada: "It all depends, sometimes it works and sometimes it doesn't."

Rudi: "Some people do it this way." He sits up stiffly, makes an angry face, and imitates: "'Look here, conductor, there must be some mistake. I shall report this to the management.' They have to pay again, but when you say, 'Come on, conductor, let me be,' and you smile at him, he lets it pass. Mamma always does it that way."

The observer plays with Rudi. Mother comes in and takes part in the game.

Rudi: "If you want to play, don't play with her money. Use your own."

Mother: "I'll give it back to her."

Rudi has won. He puts the money in his savings bank and says to his mother: "Now give the money back to her."

Mother: "Of course." She gets up and fetches her pocketbook. The observer refuses, suggests another game in which all three will play. The others agree.

Observer: "Do we have to put two pennies in the pot again?"

Rudi: "Sure."

Mother opens her pocketbook and repeats: "I have to give your pennies back to you."

When the observer does not answer, mother does not insist, but puts the pennies up as her stake.

Summary.—It was characteristic of the Fabian family that Rudi was not considered a child so much as a companion to his mother. Any distance between the two was lacking; the boy was not trained by his mother's pedagogical measures because he took the part of a partner with equal rights rather than that of a pedagogical subject. An absence of affection and a predominant practical and utilitarian point of view were further characteristics of this family.

VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A summary and comparison of the eight parent-child relations observed in the six families discussed in this chapter lead to the following general conclusions.

Each of these relations had its own individual characteristics because of certain basic tendencies. These were:

1. *The child formed the center of family interest as a child*, that is to say, as a possession which brought happiness to the parents and was more important than anything else. *Affection* for the child was the decisive motive in such families; their contacts were primarily intended to give something to the child: affection, participation in the family unit, joy, care, instruction, etc. Objective obligations and the adults' affairs and cares were kept far from the child; whenever he was present, all adults adjusted to him and his private world. Gertrud's family was an example, and, with certain modifications, Hans' also. However, the latter family structure was halfway between this and the third basic pattern, because Hans was also expected to perform certain duties which served to promote the common good.

2. *The child formed the center of family interest as an educational object*. In this family structure also the child occupied a favored position and controlled completely his parents' interests as soon

as he was in their presence. In this case, however, he was not the object of elation and affection and the member of the family for whom as much as possible had to be done, but rather an individual for whose being and development the parents felt so much responsibility that they never lost sight of it; this duty colored their behavior at all times. The decisive motive was *responsibility* for the child. In such cases also, the child did not share the adults' worries and was not trained to recognize his objective obligations to the family, but his own moral and other obligations were kept constantly before him. Heinz's family served as an example.

3. *The social unity of the family was of primary importance to the parents.* Not the child, but a *harmonious development* of family life, was the center of interest. The child was drawn into this harmonious unit, became the adults' social partner in conversations and social intercourse, and was given instruction and guidance; but, on the other hand, he had to accept his share of duties to be performed for the good of the family, and of responsibilities for the proper organization of family life. Ilse and Berthold lived in a family with this particular structure.

4. *The household was the center of family interest.* The emphasis was no longer on the child or on the harmonious unity of all members of the family, but on the household in which they lived—in a sense, on the machine which regulated their external existence. The social unity of the family had deteriorated into a sort of protective association for the preservation of the household and for the assurance of its smooth running. The *order* of the house was the primary motive. The children were members of this association, much like the adults whom they assisted as employees of the organization. Affection for the child, responsibility for his development, the harmony of the social group—all these receded before the importance of a properly ordered external life. As a result, the child as such became neglected and the human side of social life lost importance. Erna lived in this sort of environment; the structure of that family was somewhat modified in Käthe's case because her mother was to some extent interested in her education and showed her some degree of affection.

5. *The struggle for existence was the center of family interest.* In this case, the adult world replaced completely that of the child, and the latter was accepted as a partner with equal rights and obligations. Even if he did not have to assist in the struggle for existence, he still had to participate in it and was not allowed to live his own existence in his own world. The guiding motive of all behavior was the *economic welfare*, to which the child had to contribute as best he could by assisting in the work, respecting family property, understanding vocational problems, participating in the life and recreation of the adults, etc. Rudi lived in such a family as this.

It is especially important to emphasize that we have developed these qualitative characteristics on the basis of a classification, that is, a quantitative distribution of behavior types. We are, then, justified in saying that the spirit of family life can be expressed in the quantitative tabulation of activities, even in such a crude study as ours, which had to ignore all the more delicate shades of expression present in speech and action.

The basic structure of family life is sensed by the child in *emotional contacts*, and in the *incentives* and *guidance* which he receives. The emotional contacts in Gertrud's and Hans' families were affectionate, in Erna's and Rudi's frigid, and in Berthold's and Ilse's they had a friendly warmth. The incentives may be manifold, numerous, and adjusted to the child, or they may be few in number and ill adapted to him. The guidance which he receives may be slight and indirect, or strong and direct; parents may use mild or strict means, tend to give in or to insist, etc. The interrelation between these different methods and the different family structures, when studied with a larger body of material, should prove interesting and worth while.

There were other differences among our six families. For instance, three of them were one-sided in their contact situations, the others many-sided. Mrs. Burian never initiated contacts with Käthe in situations involving the household or the outside world, though her contacts with her other daughter occurred almost exclusively in the former. Heinz's mother and nurse selected primarily school and play situations for their

contacts with him; in Hans' contacts with adults, the outside world offered the most opportunities. It is remarkable that in the three cases of one-sided parental contacts (Erna, Heinz, and Hans) this one-sidedness was also noticeable in the child; that is, both parents and children depended on a certain situation for the contacts which formed the basis of their relations. Parents and children were much more independent of each other when their relations were less pronounced, that is to say, they made contacts with each other in many different situations in all those cases where one particular situation did not greatly outweigh the others in importance. Many-sided contact situations and greater independence of parents and children coincided in our data.

Two of our children, Gertrud and Hans, were surrounded with extraordinary affection. Although both children were unusually affectionate themselves, their spontaneous activities were characterized more by objective than affective approaches. In contrast, the rather objective relations of the Cermak parents to their children coincided with very affectionate spontaneous behavior on the part of the children, especially Berthold. Käthe and Rudi, though receiving little or no affection, were very affectionate themselves. Erna gave and received no affection, Heinz little. He was an extremely unfriendly, cold child. Erna's mother was extremely unfriendly toward both children; to this Erna reacted with complete affective indifference. We may say, then, that in most cases the children's emotional attitudes differed from their parents' and sometimes were even directly the opposite.

The difference between favorable and unfavorable family structures was especially clear. The definitely positive attitudes of Gertrud, Ilse, Berthold, and Hans clearly constituted a reflection of the positive relations existing between them and their parents; the primarily negative attitude of Heinz and Rudi, and the silence of Erna and Käthe, spoke just as loudly.



PART II

SIBLING RELATIONS



CHAPTER III

GENERAL ASPECTS OF SIBLING RELATIONS

I. CHARACTERISTIC TENDENCIES

BECAUSE, as was pointed out in the Introduction, few objective tendencies prevail in sibling relations, but an expression of attitude is the rule, their analysis is much more difficult than that of parent-child relations. In general, children have few purely objective aims and purposes which could serve as a basis of contact between them, although their games contain objective problems and there are such objective necessities as finishing one's school work or helping mother around the house. But we have found in earlier studies that, although the child as a member of a group can be induced to participate in a joint objective activity, he does not usually have the desire to organize spontaneously with other children in order to perform some objective task. This type of behavior was not found before puberty, at the age of 14 or 15. While the adults' contacts with the child may have a variety of objective purposes, as discussed in Part I, an analysis of sibling relations from this point of view would bear little fruit. The child's personal attitudes are expressed much more manifestly and clearly in his contacts with other children than in his relations with adults. Sibling relations can be analyzed much better than the latter into numerous individual friendly or unfriendly approaches, constituting characteristic manifestations. In fact, a sibling relation which is very objective and contains few expressions of attitude is not child-like but precocious, strained, and somehow wrong. The relation between Alfred and Susi was an example of such an abnormal condition.

It follows from the above that an analysis of sibling relations

had to proceed on the basis of expressed attitudes. Such objective contacts as occurred in conversations or play activities were separated from contacts which contained the expressions of an attitude. It will be seen that these objective sibling contacts possessed characteristics which distinguished them from the contacts occurring in parent-child relations. For instance, siblings often were not merely jointly active but mutually imitative, doing the same thing at the same time; they both ran toward their mother to embrace her, or ran down the steps, perhaps to see who would get down first. Such an example as the following was typical of siblings in our group:

Lizzi and Herta (twins, age 8.4) have been promised a ride in their father's car. They run up to him enthusiastically, seize his hand and do not want to let go.

Father says to mother: "I'll go ahead," and to the children: "You kids come along with mamma."

He goes into the front room, followed by the girls, though he says: "You stay where you are, now."

Both run outside when he opens the front door and start down the steps.

The observer follows them and calls: "You come back here and wait," while the father also orders them back into the house. They decide to do so and run into their mother's bedroom.

Imitating each other was a typical behavior form in sibling relations.

A playmate whom neither Alfred nor Susi likes is coming to play with them. Susi says to the observer: "I'm going to lock myself in when she comes."

Alfred adds: "Me too."

Käthe and Erna compete in reciting songs to the observer by each attempting to talk faster than the other.

Rudi shows the observer some postcards.

Ada fetches hers and says: "See, I've got some, too."

Erna seizes the observer's hand. Käthe imitates her.

Erna says: "I've got her hand."

Käthe retorts: "You haven't either, I've got it."

The close unity in which siblings lived was often instinctively expressed in their simultaneous activities. This was especially

true of our twins, Lizzi and Herta. On the other hand, in their successive activities we found a clear expression of competition and rivalry, as shown in the last three examples above. We have distinguished these typical forms of objective contacts, namely, "doing something simultaneously" and "doing the same thing successively" whether as pure imitation or in rivalry, from the other joint objective activities which consisted of conversations or play situations, and have called them *simultaneous* and *successive* activities, respectively. The following conversation was an example of such an objective relation:

Ada (12.3) and Rudi (9.3) are talking to the observer.

Rudi asks her: "What do you think about faith?"

The observer replies: "How do you mean that?"

Rudi explains: "Well, I mean that the evangelical faith is the best. That has been shown again and again, and everybody knows it. All the rest is the bunk."

Ada brings up the conflict between religion and science, especially the inconsistency of the Biblical story of creation with the findings of the natural sciences. She then makes the general statement that knowledge has certain limitations. The observer agrees and says that there is a point where knowledge ends and faith begins.

Rudi argues: "But we should be able to find out for sure. What we don't know doesn't mean anything."

Ada retorts: "Yes, of course, you want to know what nobody else knows."

In this instance, Ada and Rudi participated in a purely objective discussion.

The examples of successive activities showed that the child's attitudes could be very clearly expressed in them. Although this was not done as directly and plainly as in the activities which involved *cooperation* or *opposition*, which constituted 20 per cent of all sibling contacts observed by us, they were so clear and frequent that they could not be overlooked. The next examples show the similarities and differences between direct and indirect opposition.

Lizzi picks up a toy and pulls the string attached to the end of a stick. Herta notices it, jumps up and tries to take it away from her,

saying: "Leave that alone. I won't let you play with anything else if you don't."

At the dinner table, Erna initiates the contact by saying: "I'm sitting next to her" (the observer).

Käthe imitates, saying: "So am I sitting next to her."

Ilse initiates by saying: "In Habig's store there is a pile of pennies on the counter every Friday and any beggar can go in and take one."

Berthold imitates: "And in Meinl's store there is a pile of half-pennies for the beggars."

The first example involved direct and simple opposition by which Herta defended her property against Lizzi. The two other instances illustrated indirect opposition and indirect defense of one's own position. This kind of secondary rivalry we have called *asserting one's own importance*, while the primary kind of self-assertion constitutes an attempt at maintaining one's existence and property against an aggressor. Rivalry may occur in any contact situation and may be added to direct opposition.

Käthe runs and jumps. Erna, belittling: "You can't even jump."

Käthe continues to run.

Erna continues: "I can jump two feet. You can't do anything."

In addition to showing opposition to Käthe, Erna also maintained her own superiority in competition with her sister. On the other hand, successive activities may be entirely free from tendencies toward rivalry.

Lizzi initiates by saying: "Isn't our new nurse nice?"

Herta imitates: "Yes, she is swell."

Herta says to the observer: "Please bring me a glass of water."

Lizzi imitates: "Me too, please."

A tendency to rivalry may be present or absent when two children do the same thing simultaneously. Rivalry was present in such situations as these: the children competed in reciting poetry for the observer; they saw who could get down the steps first; they tried to outrun each other. Rivalry was absent in the following: the children ran toward the observer asking her to show them her bracelet; they asked permission to play in the park or to have another sandwich; they read signs and posters

when walking in the city; they started dressing when told to do so.

There was also a positive equivalent of the type of attitude described above (self-assertion in comparison with one's partner), namely, *boosting one's partner* by comparison with oneself. This is rare in early childhood; when the partner is boosted at all, it is not done in comparison with oneself. This we have classified with cooperation.

A visiting playmate says: "I've been practising my piano for a whole half-hour today."

Susi replies: "That's nothing; Alfred helped daddy in the shop all morning and practised his piano for an hour after he got home."

Alfred adds: "And Susi has strung six strings of beads and helped mother bake a cake."

Though boosting one's partner in comparison with oneself occurred so rarely that it could not be classified separately, an example follows.

Mother looks at Herta's home work in writing and says: "And that is supposed to be my daughter's writing? I feel like buying you a new pad and making you do it over."

Lizzi remarks: "Mine does not look any better than that."

Special investigations of this topic¹ show that children do not praise each other's achievements in comparison with their own until the age of seven, and then only rarely until after they are nine years old. The primary attitude of the younger child seems to be positive self-assertion.

Besides rivalry, still another factor may occur in connection with primary tendencies, of which the following are examples:

Gertrud runs away from her mother to pick violets.

Steffi calls after her: "Gertrud, let me pick some, too."

Gertrud tells her sister: "Look, Steffi, your button is undone."

Gertrud is up and dressing in the next room, getting ready to go to school.

Steffi wakes up and calls: "Gertrud, come here; I want to see you."

¹ Charlotte Bühler, "Self-Criticism and Its Development," *Child Life*, London 1935; also, Charlotte Bühler, *From Birth to Maturity*, London, Kegan Paul, 2nd edition, 1937.

These three conversations between the two sisters expressed neither cooperation nor antagonism, but belonged to the type of activities that we have called *contributive*. Their basic tendency was objectively neutral, but they could be distinguished on the basis of their secondary tendencies. In the first example, Steffi wanted to obtain something for herself; in the second, Gertrud did her sister a favor; and in the third, Steffi's wish was merely an expression of affection. This led to a distinction among approaches showing *self-interest*, *other-interest*, and *disinterest* as their basic purpose. In the first case, Steffi was thinking of her own advantage; in the second, Gertrud was of assistance to Steffi and told her something to the latter's advantage; and in the third, Steffi expressed her desire for contact without manifesting any tendency to profit. In other words, a tendency to profit may or may not be superimposed on the primary tendency.

Direct cooperation and opposition are attitudes sponsored by one's struggle for existence, while the desire for profit expresses a tendency to expand one's existence; and self-assertion, a tendency to ideational expansion.

Summarizing, we may say that the following tendencies can be distinguished in sibling contacts:

1. Primary tendencies:
Cooperation and opposition.
Simultaneous, successive and contributive.
2. Secondary tendencies:
With or without practical purpose.
With or without self-assertion.

Secondary tendencies can be discovered only by interpretation, whereas primary tendencies are expressed directly in behavior.

II. THE CLASSIFICATION AND ITS RELIABILITY

When trained observers, preferably those who had made the actual records, classified our material, the reliability shown in Table 3 above was obtained. Considerable differences of opinion occurred, however, when psychologists who were not familiar with this material and our records classified the sibling contacts. This is not surprising in view of the fact that interpretation and

personal opinion play a much more important part in the analysis of these than of parent-child relations. In order to test the reliability of such results, 63 sibling contacts, selected at random, were classified by four collaborators, two of whom were familiar with the material while the others were not. Of the 63 primary social tendencies, 19 were identified by four assistants, 9 by three, 19 by two and 16 by only one. Among the 47 cases which were identified by from two to four persons, there were 14 which showed discrepancies in identification with one of the five classes which we distinguished (cooperation, opposition, simultaneous, successive, and contributive activities), so that only 15 of the 63 contacts were classified according to their primary social tendencies in the same way by all four persons.

Of course, the interpretation of secondary social tendencies presented even greater difficulties; hence all four assistants agreed in only two of the 24 cases of self-assertion, while 12 cases were recognized by only one person; secondary practical purposes were never recognized by all four, while in two cases one observer classified a secondary tendency as self-interest which was identified by another as self-assertion.

We attempted to find the reason for these discrepancies by scrutinizing cases which were identified by only one person. We found that three of these 15 cases presented differences of definition, while in the others it was not always clear whether a sibling contact actually existed; at the same time, some of these were overlooked because of lack of training. The same was found to be true of cases in which two or three collaborators agreed.

As a result of this experiment with using untrained persons in the evaluation of our data, we demonstrated to ourselves the need for a rigid control and for leaving the classification to those who were thoroughly familiar with the material. All of our tables, therefore, are based on evaluations made by our trained observers; yet we insist that our data have no final significance beyond the cases on which they were obtained.

The following three reports demonstrate our method of classification. They have been abbreviated to include only the sibling contacts which are of immediate interest in connection with this part of our discussion.

The Child and His Family

Report I	Subjects	Primary Tendency		Secondary Tendency	
		H	L	H	L
The children are in their room with the observer. L.: <i>"Let's start."</i>			C ²		
When they are seated, L. explains: <i>"First we draw the head and neck."</i>			C		
Aside to H.: <i>"Do it the same way as last time, remember?"</i> She whispers something in H.'s ear.			C		P
H. nods, both look at the observer and begin to draw.		Si	Si		P
When they have finished and passed their drawings to each other, L. bends over to H. and whispers.		Si	Si	P	P
When O. objects that whispering is not permitted, the children laugh and continue drawing.			C		P
L. takes H.'s drawing away from him and shows it to O., saying: <i>"Let's play it again."</i> To H. she says: <i>"Get some more paper."</i>		Si	Si	P	P
After having done so, H. distributes the paper. He then looks at L. and asks: <i>"What do I do next?"</i>			C		P
L. answers: <i>"Everybody draw something for himself."</i>			C		P
Both children draw, laughing frequently together.			C		P

Report II

Subjects	Primary Tendency		Secondary Tendency	
	E	J	E	J
The children meet O. at the door, J. following E. E. greets O. affectionately, imitated by J.		Su		
Their mother greets O., but the children pull O. into their room.		Su		S
E. shows O. her Easter presents. J. brings O. one of her gifts to admire.	Si	Si		
		Su		S

² Explanation of abbreviations used:

C contributive activity
Si simultaneous
Su successive

O opposition
P practical purpose
S self-assertion

O. goes into the kitchen with M., followed by E. and J., who listen to O.'s conversation with M.	Si	Si		
	Si	Si		
E. repeatedly embraces O., telling her how much she likes her. J. imitates this behavior.			Su	
E. seizes O.'s hand, saying: "See, I have her hand." J.: "You don't either, I have it," and, seizing O.'s face, adds: "And see, I have her face, too."			Su	S
		O		S

Report III

	Subjects	E	J	E	J
M. and O. discuss first communion.					
E. and J. listen to the conversation.	Si	Si			
E. says that J. could not go because she is too young.	O			S	
J. argues that several girls in her class have already been.		O			S
J. begins to read to O. E. recites the same verse by heart.	Si	Si		S	S
J. is irritated and speeds up her reading.		O			S
E. says that this is such a silly story.	O			S	

III. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SIBLING CONTACTS

1. *Primary Tendencies*.—Some interesting facts resulted from a study of the tendencies shown in sibling contacts. Simple simultaneous and successive activities together constituted about one-half of all the contacts observed in children of school age. The average for simultaneous activities was 32.83 per cent, and that for successive activities 20.61 per cent, of all sibling contacts.

These two types of activities we have called *parallel*, in contrast to those which are *mutual*. In contributive activities, co-operation, and opposition, both partners to the contact are directed toward each other and either wants something from or for the other.

Cooperation and opposition together accounted for about 20 per cent of all contacts, the former occurring in 6.73 per cent of our cases, the latter in 13.54 per cent. At this point a comparison with considerable numbers of other sibling relations

would be especially valuable in order to obtain an accurate picture of cooperation and antagonism between school children. Both types of activity occurred in many different forms.

Cooperation was present when one sibling gave the other something, helped him or did something for him, gave the other consolation, took his part before third persons, or demanded something for him from the adults. Expressions of affection and manifestations of tenderness we have included in this group. Table 18 shows that, at this age, giving things to each other, doing things for each other, and taking each other's part were prevailing behavior forms.

TABLE 18.—FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF COOPERATIVE BEHAVIOR

Type of Behavior	Intentions					Total
	Aiding	Cooperating	Boosting the Other	Defending the Other's Rights	Affection	
Giving something	18	5		3		26
Doing something for the other	17	8				25
Comforting		5				5
Asking adult to do something	3					3
Taking the other's part		4		12		16
Praising the other			9			9
Physical contact					8	8
Totals	38	22	9	15	8	92

Antagonistic attitudes may be expressed in even more different forms. Table 19 shows that those which occurred most frequently were the attempt to belittle the partner by making remarks, accusing him to the adults, and appealing to adults. Protection of one's own position, property, or privileges by pushing or taking away or by ridicule and sarcasm also occurred frequently. Actual defensive activities were relatively rare; among the children of our socially somewhat superior group the opponent was hurt with mental weapons, but not attacked with fists or other applications of strength. Belittling remarks, ridicule

and sarcasm accounted for 33 per cent of all antagonistic activities, and offensive approaches were slightly more frequent than defensive ones.

TABLE 19.—FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF ANTAGONISTIC BEHAVIOR

Type of Behavior	Intentions					Pedagogical	Total
	Belittling	Boosting One-self	Protecting One's Social Position	Protecting One's Property	Defense Against Other Attacks		
Pushing away			11	2	1		14
Defense	2		1	2			5
Taking things away				13			13
Ridicule and sarcasm	11	1	1				13
Belittling remarks	33	4	3		5		45
Warning	1				2	4	7
Accusing	10	1		3	16	2	32
Forbidding				2			2
Declining	1	3	2	4	4		14
Appeal to adults	17	1	2	4			24
Supporting adults	5						5
Totals	80	10	20	30	28	6	174

Contributive activities accounted for 26.39 per cent of all sibling contacts and were most difficult to interpret. They included such activities, requests, proposals, and conversations as expressed no cooperative or antagonistic tendencies with regard to one's partner, but which seemingly or in reality had an objective purpose. We have already noticed that this might have been more apparent than real, when we discussed the secondary tendencies involving practical purposes and self-assertion. In this category we have included joint activities, instructive conversations, playful stimulation, the organization of joint activities, statements concerning events in the outside world, one's own plans or one's partner's, and finally advice and requests.

Table 20 shows that those occurring most frequently were requests, questions, statements and conversations involving one's

own plans and activities, and the outside world. For example, a discussion concerning the fact that Alfred did not like all of Susi's friends and why he liked some better than others, constituted an exchange of opinions concerning a common factor in the outside world.

TABLE 20.—FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF CONTRIBUTIVE CONTACTS

Types of Behavior	Intentions									Totals
	Organ-ization	Stimu-lation	In-struc-tion	Joint Activ-ity	Out-side World	Indi-vidual Plans	Fun	Sib-ling	Wish Aid	
Statement	3	1	5		14	13	1	4	1	42
Communica-tion	10		5		21	34	2	1		73
Request		3		5	3	1		2	59	73
Proposal	4		3	18	3		4			32
Calling		2	1				3	1	2	9
Demanding	8	9	1	18	2		3	4		45
Asking				2	41					43
Looking on				1				15		16
Totals	25	15	15	44	84	48	13	27	62	333

We shall see below that these apparently objective conversations and joint activities indirectly contained the same element which was present in simultaneous and successive activities, namely, an attempt on the child's part to obtain something from his partner. Taking advantage of one's partner and asserting oneself in comparison with one's partner both played a part.

2. *Secondary Tendencies.*—In order to examine in detail the tendency to obtain practical benefit, we must distinguish between contacts from which the child did not expect to gain anything and those in which he evidently pursued an ulterior motive in addition to the contact itself. Berthold and Ilse demonstrated joint play activities without ulterior motive when they ran to the fountain to show each other the icicles. But Ilse used Berthold's kindness and willingness as a means to secure these icicles by making him break off one after the other for her.

In our material we found that 51.86 per cent of all sibling contacts had a selfishly ulterior motive, 38.38 per cent were disinterested, and in 9.76 per cent of the cases the child wanted to be helpful or useful to another. Among the first group, we found most frequently a demand for recognition of one's rights,

possessions, and achievements, and requests for help, advice, and direction.

The tendency toward an attempt to excel occurred very infrequently in sibling contacts in the form of rivalry. The following examples show this tendency in some of its forms:

Outranking. Käthe and Erna are hiking up a mountain. Erna, who carries a stick at her mother's suggestion, says: "See, I am the leader; I have to go ahead."

Excelling. After both have climbed a tree, Ada says to Rudi: "I got higher than you did." Rudi: "If I had tried further, I would have gotten to the top, too." (Ada initiated this antagonistic contact.)

Belittling. The girls are preparing to play doll hospital. Erna says: "I can't bring the big doll because she would lose her wig."

Observer: "That's all right, because then she'd be sick."

Erna: "How dumb of you, you can't do that." (Antagonistic contact.)

3. *Verbal and Non-verbal Contacts.*—Individual children differed greatly with regard to the relative preponderance of their verbal and non-verbal activities, as we shall see later. Most siblings maintained contacts by conversations, others by means of joint activities. In general, however, verbal activities were more prevalent even at this age level.

TABLE 21.—THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF
VERBAL AND NON-VERBAL ACTIVITIES

	Per Cent
Verbal contacts	67.57
Joint activities	32.43

Non-verbal activities accompanied by conversation have been counted as non-verbal contacts in Table 21 whenever such conversation expressed the same thing as was manifest in the activity. If it went beyond the usual verbal expression of the activity in progress, two entries were made and the activity was then counted as both verbal and non-verbal.

Tables 22 and 23 show the principal contents of conversations and non-verbal activities.

TABLE 22.—CONTENTS OF SIBLING CONVERSATIONS

Subject	Per Cent
Themselves	20.78
Other people	29.58
Environmental facts	24.65
Joint activities	21.82
Abstract problems	3.17

TABLE 23.—CONTENTS OF JOINT ACTIVITIES

Content	Per Cent
Functional activities (moving about)	44.83
Make-believe play	4.80
Constructive occupation	5.42
Games of skill	3.87
Sports	9.29
Social games	3.12
Outdoor activities	3.10
Practical activities	25.57

Previous observations had already shown that joint activities rarely consisted of constructive activities, but primarily of functional activities and sports. Practical activities include eating together, washing, dressing, as well as practical work in the narrower sense of the word. This percentage was naturally high because these children spent so much of their time together in the children's room.

4. *The Adult's Rôle in Sibling Relations.*—Sibling relations are greatly influenced by the relationship which adults bear to them. It is significant for the development of the sibling relation that the mother take part in an argument between her children by settling it or by scolding them, that she take the side of one of her children against the other, whether she understands and adjusts their difficulties or lacks an understanding attitude toward them, and whether she takes part in the situation with an intelligent grasp of its implications or reacts in a primitive manner to anything that displeases her.

Quantitatively, adult interference was most frequent in

antagonistic sibling contacts, in which adults participated in 20 per cent of the cases. In simultaneous contacts, which often involved a measure of rivalry, such interference occurred in 15 per cent of the cases. Successive contacts, on the other hand, were undisturbed in 91 per cent of the cases. Such interferences occurred most frequently on the part of the mother, who took a part in sibling situations eight times as often as did the father. Ten per cent of the interferences came from persons not members of the siblings' household, frequently from our observers.

Qualitatively, the adults' interferences were most frequently educational (44 per cent); in addition, they were made in order to direct the contact in some manner, or to interrupt a contact which involved family matters or the routine and organization of family life.

CHAPTER IV

THE INDIVIDUAL SIBLING PAIRS

QUANTITATIVE evaluations of sibling relations were made on the basis of our preliminary studies. Averages were computed for all relations, and individual relations were expressed in the formula

$$\frac{\text{individual value} \times 10}{\text{average value}}$$

If this fraction was less than 10, the occurrence of this type of behavior was considered below the average in frequency; if it exceeded 10, the behavior type occurred with more than average frequency; and it was considered normal if the fraction equaled 10. These quotients, then, gave a picture of the deviations from the average. They were computed for each dimension of contact and for each child individually. The individual deviations from the average can best be illustrated by graphic pictures for each of the pairs of siblings. These were made by the following technique. The average, indicated by 10, was represented by a horizontal line. Individual deviations were indicated by lines ending above or below the horizontal. This method of presentation could be used only when all subdivisions were present. Since all five forms of contact occurred in all of our sibling pairs, the method could be used to illustrate the differences in relative value of these contacts for each pair. Because these values were based on percentages, considerable positive deviations which would lead to erroneous conclusions were found in cases which occurred with very low absolute frequency when not all subgroups were present. Such would be the case in the following example. Suppose that a child established antagonistic contacts with his sibling four times, three times

with a belittling and once with a pedagogical tendency, we would have to say that 75 per cent of his contacts were aimed at belittling and 25 per cent at pedagogical ends. In both cases we would obtain a considerable deviation from the average which would obscure and distort the true situation.

For this reason it became necessary to find another method of presenting these data not based on percentages. First we calculated the absolute average occurrence of individual subgroups. The center line in each figure now indicates the absolute average; beside this we plotted the absolute occurrence of each category in individual children. In this way, we obtained an accurate picture of the distribution. We used the graphic method in the detailed analysis of the various forms of contact as well as in our study of the participation of adults in sibling situations. Contacts with and without ulterior motive could be subjected to a graphic presentation based on percentages, since all of our children showed both kinds of contact. The quantitative distribution of these two types of contacts, therefore, was plotted in the same manner as the five forms of contact. The average percentage was calculated, but both types of establishing contact were not combined. The total of all contacts was set at 100 per cent, and the proportion of each type computed in percentage of the total.

We present a detailed discussion of three pairs of siblings.

I. ERNA (AGE 10.9) AND KÄTHE (AGE 6.10)

This sibling pair showed the most extreme characteristics in their relations.

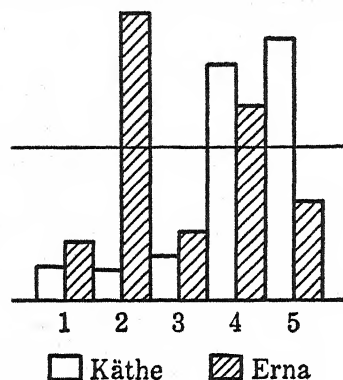
Figure 34 shows that their relation was characterized by an extremely large number of unfriendly acts against Käthe on the part of Erna. The younger girl hardly defended herself against her older sister's aggressiveness, but rather attempted to follow her example and be like her in every possible respect. Though their ages differed rather considerably, the two sisters were practically always together and shared most of their experiences. As a result of Erna's animosity, there existed between them almost no objective relations that were free of emotion, and almost no cooperation.

We attempted to determine and distinguish Erna's negative attitudes in an effort to understand them. We found the following types of behavior: belittling remarks aimed at making Käthe ridiculous or placing her in an unfavorable light; placing herself in a more favorable light; activities or remarks intended to

defend her own position, to protect her own property, or to defend herself against other types of encroachments; sarcastic pedagogical remarks intended to criticize her sister and to show her how things should be done.

Comparing these different animosities in Figure 35, we find that belittling played the most important part. Erna had a constant desire to elevate herself above Käthe and to belittle her younger sister. She knew how to subdue her and make her accomplishments appear insignificant by means of a multitude of nasty remarks.

Mother is telling the observer that Käthe would not enjoy being at the lake because she cannot swim. Käthe claims that she knows how, but Erna says: "Go on, you



LEGEND

1. Cooperation
2. Antagonism
3. Contributive
4. Simultaneous
5. Successive

FIGURE 34.—Relations Between Erna and Käthe.

can't at all, and you haven't even begun to learn. You've only been in once."

Käthe: "No, three times."

Erna: "Well, anyway, you don't know how, and you can't sew, either."

While the girls are doing their school work, Erna says: "Käthe thinks that 1000 plus 1000 equals a million."

Käthe protests that she said 2000. Erna insists and calls Käthe stupid.

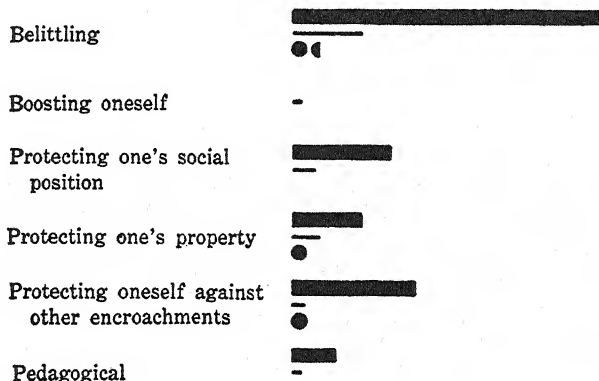
Käthe runs and skips around. Erna says depreciatingly: "You can't even jump."

Käthe continues to run.

Erna continues: "I can jump two feet."

She proceeds to make remarks about her sister's running and jumping.

When their father wants to take a picture of the children and the observer, Erna assumes a graceful position, saying: "I can stand this way because I am big, but Käthe can't."



■ Erna ●● Käthe — Average

FIGURE 35.—Antagonistic Behavior of Erna and Käthe.

On the same occasion, Erna admonishes Käthe: "Now don't make such a dumb face as you usually do."

Käthe: "But I don't make dumb faces."

Erna: "You do, too; mother said so herself."

Defensive opposition (protection of one's own endangered position or against other threats on the sibling's part, usually against a disturbance of one's peace or loss of time) was very common in this relation, especially in view of the fact that, as we have seen, the younger girl was in no way aggressive. Inasmuch as the interferences against which Erna protested in such unfriendly fashion were not completely imaginary, they were not intended to be unpleasant or consciously directed against her. This became clear in such cases as these:

Erna puts some magazines on the couch on which Käthe is rest-

ing. When Käthe inadvertently touches them with her feet, Erna exclaims: "Look out for those magazines, Käthe, you're dirtying them." Käthe looks up and puts them on the floor.

The children are doing their school work. Käthe and Erna both make noises. When Käthe does it again, Erna says: "Shut up. How can I figure this way? You can't figure without thinking."

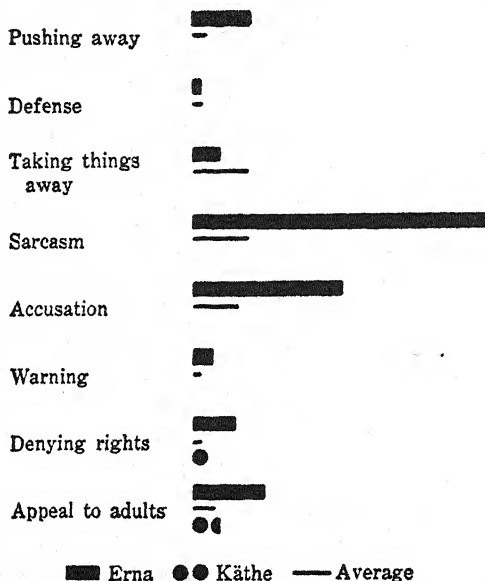


FIGURE 36.—Means Whereby Animosities Were Expressed.

Erna sometimes took a pseudo-pedagogical part in situations which did not concern her at all, usually to support the adults.

Käthe: "Daddy still owes me a nickel for a newspaper."

When her father gives it to her, mother says: "Didn't he give that to you once before? It seems to me that he did, and here you are asking for another nickel."

Käthe denies this, but Erna says: "Sure, that's right, I remember it too."

When Käthe defends herself, Erna insists and ends up by saying: "Daddy owes me ten cents, too."

Figure 36 shows that the means used by Erna to insult Käthe

were primarily sarcasm and ridicule, and also accusations. Her aggressiveness was rarely of the non-verbal type. Erna appealed to adults more frequently than the average child; such appeal was the only defensive means used occasionally by Käthe, who did not defend herself in any other way.

If we distinguish positive and negative activities, positive and negative statements, and zero reactions, Käthe's responses were usually of the last-mentioned type, that is to say, she did not

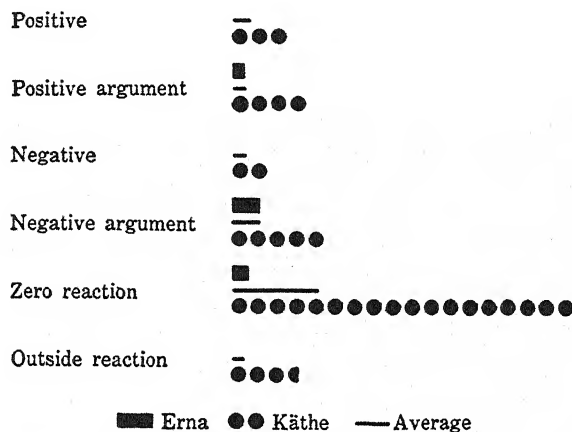


FIGURE 37.—Reactions to Antagonism.

react at all. Frequently she attempted to react positively, and often someone else reacted for her because she remained passive.

Käthe reads to the observer. At first she reads rapidly and fluently because she knows the story by heart, but later she slows down, though still reading rather fluently.

Erna enters the room and says: "She doesn't know it, that's why she reads so slowly."

Käthe ignores this remark.

The observer says: "Yes, she doesn't know it by heart yet."

The observer showed a tendency to soften Erna's hateful remark by making an objective statement, but Käthe did not react in any way. She often failed to respond even when Erna addressed her directly, but she appeared especially flustered

and unresponsive when Erna used her favorite technique of making her appear little and insignificant in the eyes of adults.

Mother shows the observer a motto which Käthe has made for her on Mother's Day, saying: "See how nicely she drew those letters?"

Erna remarks spitefully: "She just copied them."

Käthe often tried to take the sting out of Erna's remarks in a good-natured way by responding to her sister's aggressiveness in a friendly and objective manner, seemingly disregarding the unfriendly implication.

Observer: "Did you learn a verse for your mother, too?"

Erna, hastily: "No, she couldn't learn one."

Käthe: "We never could learn anything."

Observer: "Never mind, you did so many other nice things."

Erna: "She did not have time because it took her so long to make the other things."

Another example of Käthe's objective and positive reactions to Erna's belittling remarks is the following:

The observer and the children's mother discuss first communion.

Erna: "Little girls like Käthe cannot go to first communion, because they can't read well and would stutter."

Käthe relates objectively that several little girls of her age have been to first communion.

Evidently, Erna's favorite means of hurting her sister was to refer constantly to her littleness and youthfulness. She repeated incessantly: "You are too little," "You can't do that yet," "Because you are too young," "I am bigger, so I can do that," etc.

Erna's unfriendly approaches occurred so frequently and so regularly that they really appeared to be the expression of her social activity, whose intensity we have indicated above. We shall see further that in the case of other children certain special occasions gave rise to animosity and differences of opinion; but in Erna's case no such selection occurred.

An analysis of the contact forms in which this opposition took place showed clearly the despotic character of Erna's attitude

toward her younger sister. The dominance of which she took such full advantage did not constitute a laboriously achieved victory, since Käthe was a thoroughly friendly child who was usually gay and affectionate and in no way a match for Erna's aggressiveness because of the differences in age and character. The passivity of her reactions was caused not alone by helplessness and submissiveness, but partly by indifference. It often appeared as if she did not grasp the unfriendly meaning of Erna's approach. It is impossible to explain from an examination of the sibling relation alone why Käthe continued to be a source of irritation to Erna, in spite of her passive and even positive behavior. The probable causes are to be found in the previously discussed family situation, in which Käthe occupied an essentially more favorite position.

Erna apparently took revenge on her sister for everything which her mother demanded of her but not of Käthe. If her mother wanted her to assume the part of an adult and a full-grown maid, she at least wanted to take full advantage of the prestige connected with being grown up in her relations to Käthe.

Friendly contacts between these siblings were so rare that they could not be quantitatively compared with those of other pairs of siblings. Erna's willingness to help was, at best, evident in occasional corrections and explanations which were always given in a condescending and superior manner, even when they were well intended and of some help to Käthe.

Käthe is working on her arithmetic lesson. She writes 3×7 , and Erna says: "That is 21, just the reverse of 12" (which was the answer to the preceding problem).

Father brings a cup in which to shake dice for a racing game. Erna understands how this is to be done, but Käthe shakes the dice by hand after having taken them out of the cup. Erna says: "No, not like that!" She explains how it should be done. Käthe understands and does it correctly.

Käthe was so afraid of Erna that she did not dare be friendly to her, since Erna would have resented any such approach.

Käthe comes home from the bath house which Erna has left earlier.

Käthe: "Erna, you left your bathing cap."

Erna, insulted: "I didn't either."

Käthe: "Yes, you did."

Erna: "My bathing cap?"

Käthe: "Yes, and I brought it home for you."

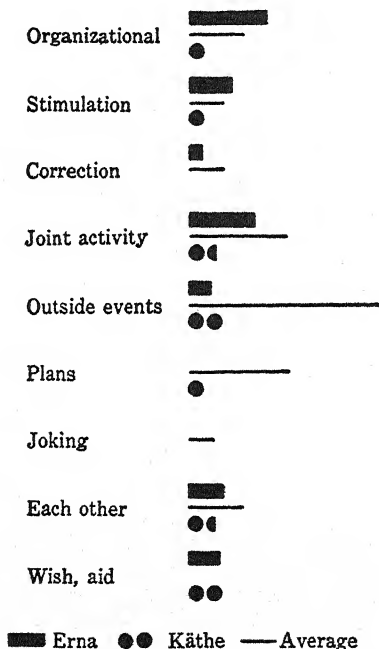


FIGURE 38.—Contributive Activities.

Erna's emotional and negativistic attitude interfered with all objective, unemotional contacts. Harmless fun, making plans, discussing experiences and events of the day could not take place between these two sisters.

Erna permitted unemotional situations to exist only when she could organize, direct, or initiate joint activities so that she played the leading rôle. It was especially characteristic that she never discussed her plans with her sister, though Käthe often

talked hers over with Erna, regardless of the latter's unfriendliness. Käthe also asked her sister's advice on many occasions. The means used by the girls in their approaches to each other may be seen in Figure 39.

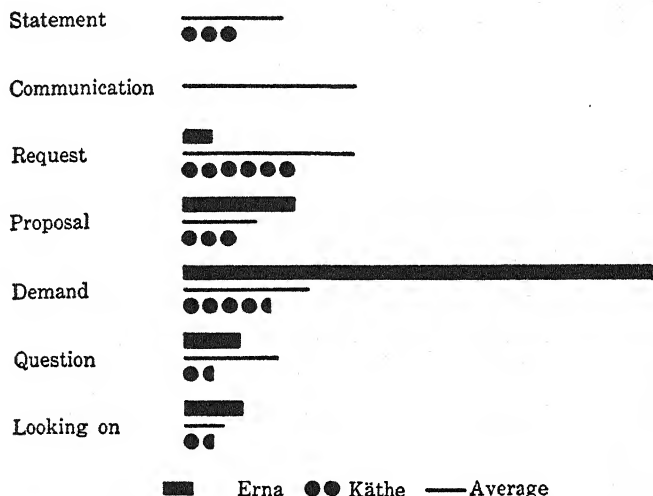


FIGURE 39.—Means Whereby Contacts Were Initiated.

Erna approached Käthe primarily with demands, never with statements or communications, and rarely with requests. On the other hand, Käthe approached Erna with requests in various forms, which the latter often ignored.

Käthe sits up on the couch on which she had been resting and attempts to reach a magazine at the foot of the couch. When she does not succeed, she says: "Help!"

Erna does not move.

The children are looking at presents which the observer has brought for them. Käthe discovers a small school kit and asks Erna: "What is this for?"

Erna ignores the question.

A condescending tone was seldom missing, even in Erna's objective contacts.

Käthe is reading to the observer as Erna enters and says: "I'll read to you, too."

When Käthe finishes her piece, she says good-naturedly: "Now it's your turn, Erna."

Erna, patronizingly: "You go ahead, I can't find it."

She thumbs through her book, and when she finds the verse for which she was looking, interrupts Käthe, saying: "I found it. Now you've got to let me read."

Käthe ceases reading and says: "All right."

Käthe's feeble attempts at independence were constantly repelled. Erna's invitations to joint activities were seldom free from a tendency to rivalry.

Both girls have made wreaths of flowers. Erna says: "Come on, Käthe, let's compare your flowers with mine."

Käthe agrees.

Käthe and Erna were together the entire day, doing everything together and in mutual imitation, like a couple which is forever nagging, yet inseparable. It was not surprising to see that Erna's desire to excel was always noticeable.

Käthe tells the observer: "My picture is hanging in the dining room."

Erna adds hastily: "Mine will be there soon, too."

Käthe's imitations betrayed not so much rivalry as her dependence on her sister.

Erna stands on the balcony, knocking ants off with a stick.

Käthe fetches a stick and imitates her.

A further aspect of their relationship was found by investigating the extent to which these girls attempted to profit from their contacts with each other, and how often such contacts were not initiated for the purpose of individual gain.

Erna's contacts had an objective purpose in 68.5 per cent of the cases, while Käthe initiated an almost equal percentage of contacts without ulterior motive. Käthe was not self-conscious, but naïve and remarkably unrestricted in her behavior, notwithstanding her sister's treatment. It seems that she passed this up without being seriously affected by it.

Finally, it was significant to note the attitude of adults, especially the parents, toward this sibling relation. The father's pedagogical effectiveness was virtually non-existent because of his deafness, and his wife failed to grasp the full significance of the situation. Only rarely, and even then quite inadequately, did she take a part in the proceedings and the unusual relations of the sisters, which stimulated every unprejudiced observer to participation in the form of criticism of the older and protection of the younger girl. When, on a certain occasion, the observer discussed Erna's continuous aggressiveness, the following conversation took place:

Mother: "Erna always laughs at everybody and everything."

Erna: "I don't either."

Mother: "Yes, you do. Käthe and Fritz are much more quiet, but you always start something or other."

Erna: "That's Käthe, not me."

Observer: "I don't believe that, Erna, it couldn't be Käthe."

This seemed to show that Erna's mother considered her aggressive in a general way, but did not appear to know that this aggressiveness was directed against Käthe in a particularly unfriendly fashion. Consequently, she failed to see anything tragic in this characteristic.

Only the observer participated in a pedagogical sense in the proceedings during her visits, as may be seen from these examples:

Käthe reads aloud. Erna: "Shut up. I can't read."

Käthe continues to read aloud.

Erna: "Can't you shut up?"

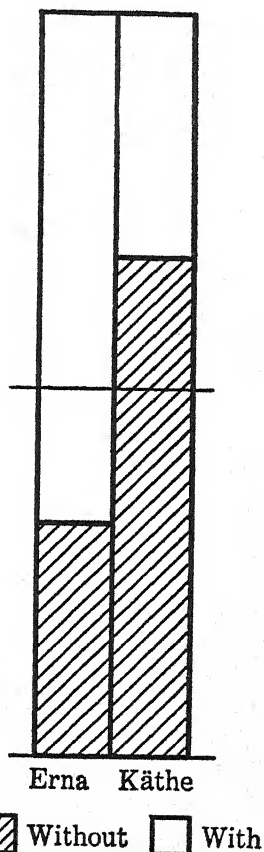


FIGURE 40.—Contacts With and Without Ulterior Motives.

Observer: "Let her read if she wants to, Erna."

Erna makes fun of Käthe's jumping.

Observer: "When you were a little girl, you couldn't do any better, Erna."

Practically all adult participation in this situation was of a pedagogical nature and occurred especially when the behavior of the two girls to each other became distinctly antagonistic.

The relationship of Erna and Käthe may be summarized by saying that it was obviously very unfavorable and, perhaps, illogical. Nothing equivalent counterbalanced the excessive, unfriendly aggressiveness of the older sister, because the younger one was hardly affected by it. Her childish pleasures were not overshadowed by it, and she never appeared to be insulted by her sister's remarks. Though she often attempted to retaliate or maintain her position, she did so without conviction or effect. Most of Erna's unkind words seemed to go in one of Käthe's ears and out the other, as evidenced by the large number of

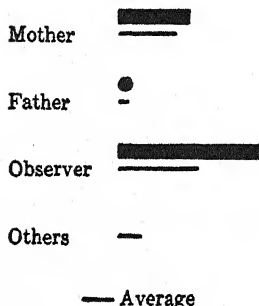


FIGURE 41.—Adult Participation.

zero reactions to Erna's attacks. Another proof of her lack of response was the fact that her own spontaneous contacts with her sister were generally "normal." From an observation of Käthe's contacts with Erna one could never have guessed the kind of treatment to which she was exposed. Disregarding the small number of spontaneously initiated contacts, we can say that Käthe's relation to Erna was entirely unspecific, in that it showed no evidence of adaptation to situations brought about by her sister.

Attempting to discover the factors which may have accounted for this unusual relationship, we noted first of all an age difference of four years. It was interesting to see that Erna's animosity was so great that she ignored this difference in her favor. Though she never ceased to brag of her rights as an older sister and to point to Käthe's youth and smaller size as particular de-

ficiencies, she failed to show any of the characteristics which are typical of older children. Usually these include preserving a certain distance in situations involving conflict, a protective attitude against third persons, directing the younger sibling cleverly and carefully to their own advantage, or, conversely, a complete lack of interest in the activities of the younger one.

A characterological peculiarity might be offered as an explanation, in that Erna might have been simply an asocial child. However, this should have been evident in the school situation, where she was quite undistinguished among girls of her own age and adjusted herself well to her environment.

The key to an understanding of this unusual relationship was provided by Erna's relation to her mother, which has been discussed above. Her attitude toward her younger sister could be understood only as a continuous attempt to take revenge for her own unfavorable position in the family situation.

II. GERTRUD (AGE 6.3) AND STEFFI (AGE 2.9)

This sibling pair presented an extreme contrast to Erna and Käthe. Gertrud's protective attitude toward Steffi was as characteristic of this relation as was Erna's antagonism of theirs. Steffi's passivity toward the profusion of tenderness which Gertrud showered on her was an interesting parallel to Käthe's failure to respond to her sister's animosity. At the same time, both younger girls showed the same tendency to imitate and depend on their older sisters. Antagonism was as infrequent in this pair as cooperation was in the other, though joint activities were possible to only a limited extent because of the different types of interest prevailing at their respective age levels.

Gertrud's cooperative attitude was expressed primarily in aiding and caring for her little sister, as shown in Figure 42. Contrasted to Erna's verbal meanness was Gertrud's kindness. Her attitude may be detected in the following examples:

Steffi and Gertrud are picking flowers.

Gertrud: "There are some more over there. See, there's another one."

Steffi walks over and picks it.

Gertrud picks buds off the shrubbery and gives some of them to Steffi.

In a card game, Gertrud gives Steffi several extra cards to help her win, though this is against the rules of the game.

Gertrud pulls up a chair for Steffi when they sit down.

Gertrud is cutting out stars. She says: "Now I'll make a green one to give to Steffi."

In this pair we found a type of cooperation which was very rare in the other sibling combination, namely, affectionate behavior. Such contacts were initiated by both girls.

Mother wants to carry Gertrud, who is in bed with Steffi, to her own bed.

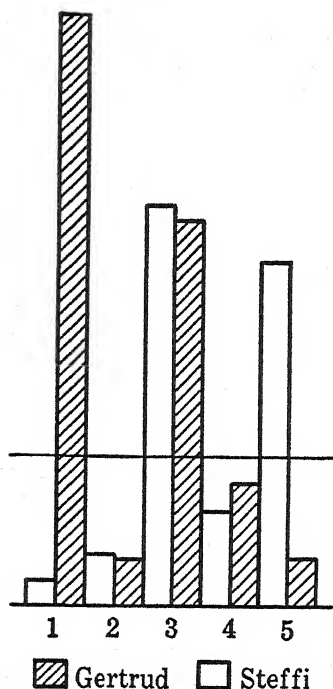
Steffi: "I won't let her go."

They hold each other by the hands.

Gertrud: "I don't want to leave Steffi."

They embrace each other.

The means of expression which Gertrud chose may be seen in Figure 44. They included primarily giving things to Steffi, doing things for her, encouragement and consolation, and tenderness, which took the form of petting, kissing, and embracing. Gertrud also helped to take care of Steffi and to raise her.



LEGEND

1. Cooperation
2. Antagonism
3. Contributive
4. Simultaneous
5. Successive

FIGURE 42.—Relations Between Gertrud and Steffi.

Mother is feeding Steffi and says: "I'd like to eat my own dessert. Hurry up, Steffi, so I can eat too."

Gertrud: "I'll feed her, mamma."

Occasionally, Steffi reacted in a mildly negative manner to her sister's excessive mothering, especially when Gertrud wanted to do everything for her.

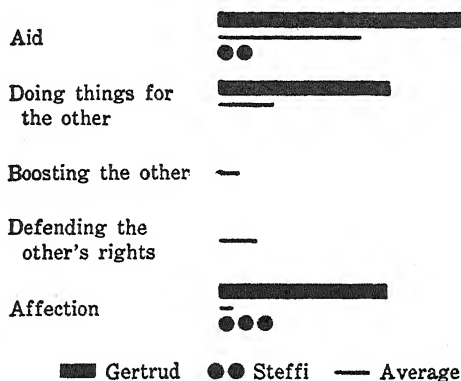


FIGURE 43.—Cooperation.

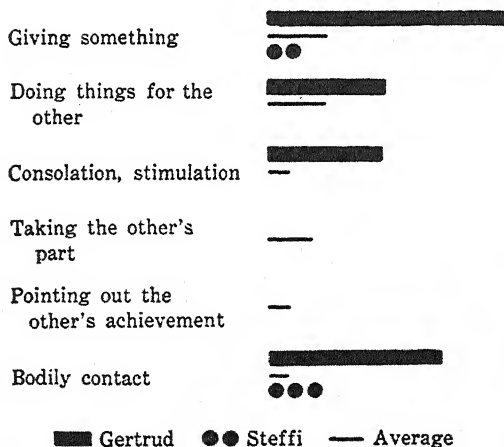


FIGURE 44.—Means of Cooperation.

Steffi is setting the table. Gertrud offers to do it for her.
Steffi: "Now wait, I'll do that."

The infrequent occurrence of antagonistic contacts between these two sisters was probably due to their considerable age

difference. They were not evenly matched. Gertrud, realizing her sister's need of assistance, modified her behavior accordingly. Steffi had little occasion to oppose Gertrud, who was anxious to maintain pleasant relations. Very rarely the situation called for unfriendliness.

Gertrud leans heavily on Steffi's doll carriage while talking to the observer.

Steffi says: "Gertrud, don't do that."

Steffi is picking flowers and complains: "Gertrud is picking all of my flowers, mamma."

Mother: "Go on, you have lots of your own."

Steffi takes a book out of Gertrud's bag.

Gertrud: "Leave my book alone." She takes it away from Steffi.

Steffi follows Gertrud while picking flowers.

Gertrud: "Stop following me around all the time."

Steffi found an occasional cause for antagonism in her attempts to demonstrate her own ability and to maintain her independence of Gertrud. In such cases, she opposed Gertrud and asserted her own rights.

In their contributive contacts, conversations concerning the environment prevailed; in these the younger sister asked questions and Gertrud gave information.

Steffi, who is drawing, says: "I'm drawing a lady." She names the colors she is using and announces: "Now I'm going to draw a wagon."

Gertrud, engaged in her own drawing, remains silent.

Steffi asks: "Gertrud, is this the way a wagon looks?"

Gertrud does not look up, but answers: "Yes."

Steffi continues: "Gertrud, can the sky be red?"

Gertrud: "Sure."

Father: "In the evening, when the sun is setting."

Gertrud takes Steffi by the hand. Steffi points to a baby in a carriage and asks: "What is the little girl doing?"

Steffi says: "Go away, wind."

Gertrud explains: "The wind won't go away just because you say so."

Steffi asks the observer: "What do the sparrows do when they see an owl coming?"

Observer: "They fly away as fast as they can."

Gertrud: "Because owls eat little birds."

Steffi: "Ooooh, that scares me, Gertrud's saying that."

In addition to these objective discussions, the children displayed much personal interest in each other, as may be seen in the following examples:

Gertrud is doing her homework. Steffi sits on the floor.

Gertrud announces: "Well, I'm ready."

Steffi: "Read it to me, Gertrud."

Gertrud is dressing in the front room, getting ready to go to school. Steffi wakes up and calls: "Gertrud, come in and let me see you."

Gertrud: "Look, Steffi, your coat is undone."

Gertrud's contacts with Steffi lacked any sign of dominance. She seldom expressed a desire for assistance or advice, which was consistent with her mothering attitude, though Steffi occupied much of Gertrud's attention in this manner. The extreme objectivity of Steffi's behavior was rather unusual. She was anxious to learn from Gertrud and addressed a large number of objective questions to her.

The girls are drawing. Steffi asks repeatedly: "Gertrud, what are you drawing?"

Steffi overhears a conversation between Gertrud and Mitzi concerning something that was torn. She asks: "Gertrud, what was torn?"

Gertrud is writing. Steffi asks: "Gertrud, what are you writing?"

Steffi's frequent appeals to Gertrud's kindness and helpfulness were further significant factors in their relationship.

Gertrud holds the observer's cat on her arm.

Steffi: "Let me hold her."

Gertrud gives the cat to Steffi.

Gertrud is setting the table.

Steffi: "I wish I could eat with mother's fork."

Gertrud fetches it for her.

The distribution of activities with and without ulterior motive was very interesting. In contrast to the relationship between Erna and Käthe, the older sister in the present case established contacts with Steffi without thinking of her own advantage in 76 per cent of the cases, while on the other hand Steffi utilized Gertrud's kindness and expected things from her in 60 per cent of her contacts.

Again in contrast to the previously discussed situation is the fact that the adults frequently took part in the relationship between the children. This was especially true of their mother and to some extent also of their father and the maid. This participation occurred according to a pedagogical plan and was usually aimed at encouraging Gertrud's protective activities and establishing more intimate relations between the children. It is important to note that Gertrud did not object to this somewhat exaggerated attitude and conducted herself entirely according to her parents' wishes. This condition can be understood only on the basis of the relations between parents and children, especially the extraordinary affection and attention which Gertrud herself received from her parents. Apparently she did not feel hurt because of the fact that her little sister was being spoiled, since she was given so much attention herself.

The relationship between these two sisters can be characterized best as a pseudo-mother-child relation. The usual distance between a three-year-old and a six-year-old was bridged by Gertrud's intensive protection. This explains the absence of the usual gap between the life spheres of children with considerable age differences.

III. ILSE (AGE 10.10) AND BERTHOLD (AGE 8.6)

The relationship between Ilse and Berthold was very harmonious, in sharp contrast to the two preceding extreme situations. Figure 45 shows an unusually positive relationship, characterized by a marked degree of cooperation and frequent simultaneous activities. Antagonism was present, but with less than average frequency. Berthold, who had a strong affection for his sister and did all sorts of things for her, was a very positive boy. His emotional attitude became indirectly evident in

his small number of objective contacts, and his dependence on Ilse in the relatively frequent instances of imitation.

A further analysis of their cooperative contacts showed Berthold's readiness to be of service and his attempts to defend his sister's rights against others. Ilse showed much consideration and encouragement, and an even stronger desire to support her brother against others. This pair always presented a united front to the outside world and impressed one as an indivisible unity. Examples of Berthold's kindness, so unusual for an eight-year-old boy, are as follows:

Berthold fetches his and Ilse's hats from the front room and gives his sister hers, which she puts on.

The hem of Ilse's dress is caught. Berthold notices it, jumps up and straightens it out.

Berthold comes out of the dining room with Ilse's coat which he puts around her shoulders. It slips to the floor. He picks it up and puts it on a chair.

After Ilse has failed to find a certain song in her book, Berthold attempts to find it for her, but is unsuccessful.

Ilse has turned down Berthold's offer to get her the doll's stove. He says: "But you need water, don't you?"

Ilse: "Yes, I do."

He goes to the stove and fetches her two glasses of water.

Berthold defended his sister energetically and attempted to safeguard her rights whenever he thought that she was being unjustly attacked.

Ilse takes off her coat and drops it behind her on the floor. Grandmother, picking it up, says: "How do you get that way, Ilse, throwing your coat on the floor?"

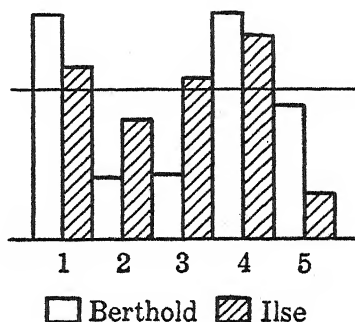


FIGURE 45.—Relations Between Ilse and Berthold.

Ilse, irritated: "What's the difference?"

Grandmother: "It'll get dirty, and you say what's the difference?"

Ilse: "But I didn't throw it on the floor; it fell."

Grandmother: "You did too throw it down."

Berthold enters the situation by standing next to Ilse and saying in a high-pitched voice: "She isn't guilty, because if her coat dropped and she didn't throw it on the floor, she couldn't help it."

Observer to Ilse: "Do you have to spend the whole afternoon on your school work?"

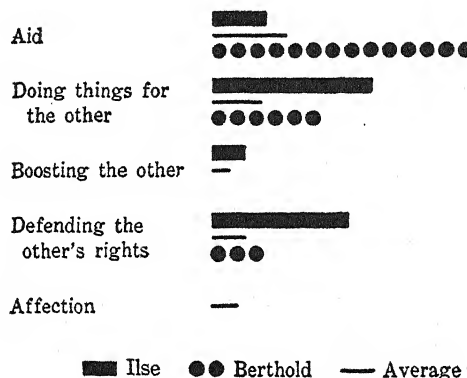


FIGURE 46.—Cooperation.

Father: "She doesn't have so much work. She is just fooling around."

Ilse: "No, I'm not fooling around."

Addressing Berthold, she adds: "I really never have much school work, only mother always gives me something extra to do."

Mother: "I never give you anything extra, because I'm only too glad when you finish your assignment."

Ilse: "Yes, you often give me some more work when I'm all through."

Berthold, in a loud tone of voice: "Ilse never has much school work, only mother nags and gives her something else to do."

In Ilse's kindly contacts with Berthold there was a lack of such concrete assistance as was manifest in the above examples. She let him serve her, but did not serve him herself. Instead, she frequently expressed her positive attitude by kindness—for ex-

ample, giving him the most important rôle to play in their games.

Berthold is given the part of letter carrier when they play post office.

When the children are trying to draw the observer, Ilse says to Berthold: "You take my place now, I'll draw her from the other side."

With equal frequency, Ilse's attempts at establishing friendly contacts resulted from her desire to extend her protection to her younger brother. Such contacts were often dictated by her objective sense of justice which caused her to take Berthold's part. (See Figure 46, defending rights.)

Berthold plays with a doll carriage which he pushes around the room. His aunt remarks: "That is funny, to see a boy play with dolls."

Ilse excitedly: "Why shouldn't he?" Then, in a more quiet tone of voice: "Boys often play with dolls, even more so than girls."

Sometimes Ilse manifested a certain pride in her brother's achievements.

The children are taking a walk with the observer.

Berthold: "I thought up a funny joke."

After he has told it, Ilse says: "He thought that up all by himself."

The means chosen by this pair to assist each other were primarily giving things to each other, doing things for each other, and demanding that the adult take the part of their sibling.

Antagonistic behavior occurred more frequently on the part of Ilse, who asserted her dominance in different ways and occasionally tried to educate Berthold critically. The means which she chose for this purpose were pushing away, taking away objects, and appealing to adults. Berthold, being on the defensive, could only protest. Whereas with Steffi the aggressiveness of the older sister usually called forth a zero reaction in the younger, it was typical of Berthold that he responded with reactions ranging from surprising humility to extreme anger. He responded to some not unfriendly acts of Ilse's with sudden,

uncontrolled emotional outbursts which passed rapidly and were immediately followed by complete indifference.

Berthold tries to play a tune on the piano. Ilse plays a few notes at the same time.

Berthold angrily pushes away her hand and says: "Go away." His anger subsides immediately.

Ilse, coming down a slope on skis, runs into Berthold. As both fall down, Berthold laughs, but Ilse says accusingly: "See, you bumped into me again."

Berthold, ceasing to laugh, retorts angrily: "I didn't bump into you, you knocked me down."

Ilse: "I didn't either."

Mother fetches a parcel from her room which she gives to Ilse. Opening it, Ilse finds that it contains silver thread and feathers. Berthold, who has been reading, puts down his book and watches the proceedings. He tries to seize the feathers. Ilse pushes him away and says: "They're mine."

Berthold: "No, mine too."

He tries to seize them again, but Ilse pushes him away. His face reddens, and with an angry emotional explosion he hits Ilse.

Mother: "I brought them for you both."

Berthold lets Ilse alone and seems perfectly content.

More often his responses were mild rather than angry. Ilse's reactions expressed a tendency to avoid anything negative. Although she never responded as positively as her brother, her negative reactions were numerically behind Berthold's.

It was typical of Erna's antagonistic behavior that she was aggressive for the sake of being aggressive. Because of an intense resentment, every situation presented a stimulus to conflict. On the other hand, it was hardly possible to find a single instance of animosity in the Berthold-Ilse relationship in which it was unfounded. Their antagonism was objective, while Erna's irritation showed up in her every remark.

We have already noted that Berthold's objective contacts with Ilse were remarkably infrequent, that is to say, his approaches for any other purpose than social intercourse, expressions of friendliness, or willingness to help her. At the same time, her attitude toward Berthold became nowhere clearer than in

their joint enterprises, that is, in situations where she was interested in something and might be able to use Berthold's assistance. She tried to influence him and to subjugate him to her aims and wishes (a tendency which manifested itself in the frequency of contacts in which she organized activities and stimulated Berthold), and she was never ashamed to rekindle her brother's often demonstrated obligingness. Her desire for help and counsel was present in any situation.

During a walk, Ilse asks Berthold: "Please get me another icicle." Berthold goes to the fountain and breaks one off.

Ilse: "Now let's draw. Berthold, get us some paper."

Berthold goes to the next room, comes back with paper, and gives her some.

Ilse: "And now another pencil."

Berthold looks for one in their school bag.

Moreover, she attempted to make Berthold do things which she disliked doing herself. In such cases, she appealed specifically to his kindness.

The children are discussing the symbolic meaning of colors. The observer is wearing green, which has been indicated by Ilse as the color of hope. Ilse says to the observer: "I know what you are hoping for most."

Observer: "Tell me."

Ilse: "Berthold, you tell her. Come here."

She bends over and whispers in his ear. Berthold laughs and says: "You tell her."

Ilse: "You are hoping to get married."

Ilse often requested aid when the children were playing with the observer. In such cases, Ilse made the necessary preparations for the game which were carried out by Berthold. She appeared to have the typical girl's attitude that, being a girl, she could expect cooperation and consideration from a boy. How much her parents were responsible for this attitude or to what extent it was her own idea, could not be determined on the basis of the data at our disposal. Situations occurred in which Berthold had to carry out her plans, even though he did not enter into the play situation as a participant.

Berthold, addressing Ilse: "If you have a piece of string with a knot in it, I can show you a game."

Ilse: "Yes, I know that one, but let's do it anyway. Berthold, get me some string."

Berthold hastily fetches some.

Ilse had more objective interests than Berthold. Her imagination in thinking up joint activities was remarkably fertile; hence, there were numerous instances of this sort of stimulation. She always liked to have Berthold participate, and it was typical of both that, when playing with the observer, they still wanted the other one to participate.

Ilse and the observer are playing in the park. Ilse calls to Berthold: "Berthold, come and join us." He obeys.

Berthold was not only a partner in play and a useful brother, but a real chum with whom Ilse always discussed her plans and intentions. Not all of these were carried out, because she was easily distracted and had little perseverance.

The objective contacts between these two children were in sharp contrast to those of Erna and Käthe. While Erna preferred to give orders, Ilse never transcended the borders of civility. Her approach in most cases took the form of a request. Berthold's behavior in this respect was no different from the usual, with the exception that his requests to Ilse were very infrequent. He asked her assistance only in isolated cases, but he was always available and willing to assist her.

In their joint activities, their intimate relationship which caused them to do everything together and not merely simultaneously was noticeable, in contrast to the situation prevailing in other pairs of siblings. When they were doing something simultaneously they coordinated their efforts; for example, they collaborated in imitating the motions of a funny-looking man or they attempted to open a drawer by concerted effort. Their joint activities usually were cooperative as well.

Bodily contacts presented an unusual aspect in that they included amiable wrestling, pushing, feats of strength, and gymnastic practice, rather than being primarily manifestations of affection.

At the dinner table, Ilse extends her right arm, Berthold his left to touch the neck of the observer who sits between them. This activity is repeated several times, regardless of their father's rebuke.

Berthold and Ilse wrestle on the floor and continue to wrestle after they have gotten up. Berthold runs to the observer and tries to wrestle with her.

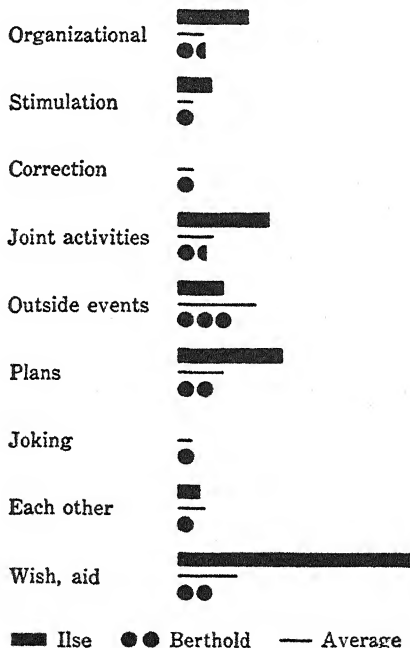


FIGURE 47.—Contributive Activities.

Again, it was typical of their relationship that the adults remained in the background in the children's activities and that these took place most frequently independent of the adults.

Mother opens the front door. The children run down the steps, shouting.

During a walk, Berthold discovers icicles. Both children run to the fountain to break them off.

Mother tells the children to try on some gloves in a store. Though they obey, their behavior otherwise remains passive.

Their imitations of each other were most remarkable because they lacked any trace of rivalry. In this respect these children differed from all other sibling pairs which we observed.

Ilse: "Mother is learning natural history with me, but she gets everything mixed up. She doesn't know the difference between a rabbit and a hare."

Berthold: "And she gets a beaver mixed up with a mole and a muskrat."

Ilse outlines her aunt's bodily contours with her finger and says, tracing her protruding stomach: "Your shape is like that."

Berthold imitates her movements and says, holding his hand about a foot in front of his stomach: "Your shape is like that."

Observer: "I'm glad I don't have to eat what you cooked for your dolls, because I don't think I would like it."

Ilse: "I wouldn't either."

Berthold repeats: "I wouldn't either."

The children are playing with the observer in the snow. When mother comes out of the house, Ilse runs toward her. Berthold puts one more handful of snow on the snowman and runs toward his mother.

During a walk, Ilse says to her aunt: "I have pretty new shoes."

Berthold: "I have pretty new shoes, too, but I don't have them on."

Their primarily objective approaches to adults lacked statements concerning themselves, which served Käthe and Erna so often to express their rivalry. Berthold simply took over Ilse's ideas and made use of them.

Ilse: "In Habig's store there are pennies on the counter for the beggars every Friday."

Berthold: "And in Meinel's store there are half-pennies."

Ilse skips with stiff arms and legs. Berthold watches her for a moment, then imitates her.

Berthold usually took the initiative, which Ilse followed, in activities which did not require imagination and original ideas, but involved a primarily practical purpose. Berthold quickly grasped the requirements of practical life, while Ilse set the pace in thinking up play activities.

Berthold fills a pan with water in which to put icicles. Ilse imitates him.

In the proportion of contacts with an ulterior motive to those without such a motive, Berthold showed, as might have been expected, an unusually large number of approaches which lacked secondary considerations (87 per cent); Ilse was average in this respect.

Everyone in the children's environment participated in their activities with great frequency. This included the father, who was home quite often and occupied himself intensively with the children. His participation was usually of a pedagogical nature, while the mother and maid took part in an organizational capacity. The father's activities were often aimed at restricting the children's exuberance. They were usually presented in a humorous form, but his attempts to control his children in a friendly way were unmistakable.

During dinner, the children run around the table with the water glasses in their hands.

Father, making a humorously angry face: "Quiet! You kids behave."

The children laugh, but quickly return to their seats.

Ilse bothers the observer.

Father: "Ilse, keep your paws to yourself; leave her alone."

Ilse: "I have no paws."

Berthold: "I have no paws, either, because I am human and a human has no paws."

Father: "Who says you're human?"

Their relation, as should be clear from the preceding evidence, was unusually harmonious, natural, intimate, and in no sense extreme. Ilse was the leading partner; Berthold submitted invariably and with the most positive attitude. Her activities as a leader showed no sign of the despotism typical of Erna's condescension or Gertrud's mothering. At the same time, in Ilse's case as in Erna's, leadership was not due primarily to greater maturity and experience, as was true of Gertrud. Completely lacking were such traits as showed the dominance of the older sibling in the pair discussed below (V). Lacking also were the

personal and intellectual separation from the younger brother and the individual sphere of interest into which the younger child dared not enter, which are so typical of the more mature child. These were present quite clearly in the case of Susi and Ada, as we shall note below, as well as in Gertrud. Ilse was quite frank in her relation with Berthold; she discussed everything with him, talked with him about the girls in her class, and was not embarrassed in his presence when telling jokes or making remarks which indicated her developing interest in erotic matters. Berthold was better acquainted with Ilse's personal affairs than anyone else in the family. She was no more even in temperament than Berthold and was moody as often as he got angry.

There was no question of mental superiority. Ilse lacked any objective interests and was, as her mother said, "all play." This very attitude was the foundation of her position as a leader. It has already been said that her imagination in thinking up new games knew no bounds; she received inspiration from any situation and from any kind of material. During the period of observation these children played thirty-six different games, twenty-four of which were initiated by Ilse. She had not only ideas, but a strong desire for activity. Everything that occurred to her had to be played right away, and to do this she needed Berthold. He entered these situations obligingly, and enthusiastically helped her carry out her plans. Ilse represented to him the source of all entertainment; without her, monotony would have killed him. Ilse played the same part in school, where her wealth of ideas placed her in a position of leadership. When the girls came to visit her, they brought along costumes which they put on to play theater under her direction. Even then, Berthold had to be present, and the more girls there were, the merrier. He was always assigned one of the "leading" rôles and was definitely one of them.

Perhaps their relation might not have been so harmonious had Berthold not been the opposite of Ilse in initiative and independence. Not only did he have no ideas, imagination, or opinions of his own, but his dependence on and his adjustment

to Ilse went so far that the interests, activities and attitudes which are typical of boys of his age never developed in Berthold. He played with dolls, but never with a construction set. He was interested neither in mechanics nor in stamps nor in Indians, but was vitally engrossed in Ilse's schoolgirl gossip. He was the only boy in our group who had no mental interests of any sort. Functional and fictional play formed the core of life for both children.

This relationship can be explained satisfactorily not by reference to the family situation alone, as could be done with that of Erna and Käthe, nor on the basis of differences in maturity, as we shall find to be the case with Alfred and Susi, but only on the basis of personality differences. Ilse led because her wealth of ideas, her activeness, and her gift for organization gave her the characteristics of a leader. Berthold, lacking these and many other characteristics which cause a boy of nine to digress from the ways of a girl of eleven, was simply a follower who willingly served the leader, grateful for the association with her. However, the friendly, warm, and harmonious tone of this relationship might in part be considered the result of the spirit of this family, in which harmony and friendliness were the basis of parent-child relations.

The sibling pairs which follow will be discussed in less detail and with mention of only the most outstanding characteristics.

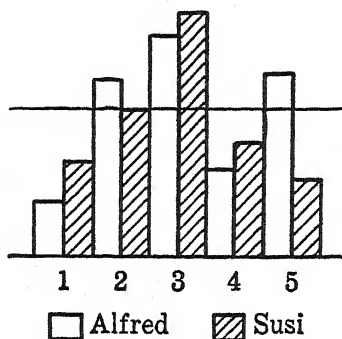
IV. ALFRED AND SUSI (TWINS, AGE 12.5)

This relationship was characterized by an objective rather than an emotional atmosphere, quite in contrast to those previously discussed. The most frequently occurring contact form was an emotionally neutral contributive activity. In addition, there were a greater degree of dependence and a negative attitude on the part of the boy. Antagonism prevailed more often than cooperation.

Susi's behavior in contributive contacts consisted, like Ilse's, primarily of making arrangements and soliciting her brother's advice and assistance, whereas he came to her with all his plans. Their contacts were preponderantly verbal, consisting,

for the most part, of communications on Alfred's part, and expressions of wishes on Susi's.

An objective tone was also noticeable in their antagonistic and cooperative behavior. They opposed each other only for the sake of self-protection or safeguarding their rights, and they cooperated with each other whenever there was an opportunity to assist and boost the other in the presence of a third person. They were neither aggressive nor affectionate to each other, and Susi's self-defense always had an objective and polite note.



LEGEND

1. Cooperation
2. Antagonism
3. Contributive
4. Simultaneous
5. Successive

FIGURE 48.—Relations Between Alfred and Susi.

Susi shows the observer chains that she has made.

Alfred: "She used to make much prettier ones than those."

Susi: "But some of these are real pretty, too."

Alfred addresses the observer: "I have much prettier tiddlywinks; let's play with mine."

Susi: "No, yours are terrible."

We found in Ilse's case a similar type of ability to get along which in the present relationship was based on Susi's position of leadership. She never gave her brother a short answer when he approached her in an unfriendly manner, but brought the matter to a solution in a positive or negative way. It was especially noteworthy that positive settlements of antagonistic conflicts were sometimes made.

Alfred and the observer are preparing to play tiddlywinks. Meanwhile, Susi draws pictures. Alfred says irritably: "Stop that; that isn't nice."

Susi: "Oh yes, it is very nice."

She knew how to make Alfred submit by giving in to him good-naturedly. Though his contacts were more frequently unfriendly than hers, he did not influence Susi's social position in the least. She remained throughout in a position to maintain herself against him; even when he attacked her, she retained the upper hand. Like Berthold, Alfred was easily excited, but he did not quiet down as readily as Berthold.

Susi: "I have to finish this chain, so you'll have to take your bath first."

Alfred makes defensive movements with his entire body, saying: "You're crazy, I won't do it."

While playing tiddlywinks, Alfred points at Susi and says: "So you cheated."

Susi: "That's where you're wrong."

Alfred: "No, I don't want to play any more. You were cheating."

Susi laughs, Alfred almost cries, but notices his mistake.

Susi places the chips several times in such a position that he believes she is cheating, and catches him several times.

The observer and Alfred play ball; Susi acts as referee. By mistake, she gives Alfred a penalty when he does not deserve it. Because he becomes very excited, she laughingly plays as if she chalks up an error for him every time he plays. He keeps on protesting, and finally refuses to play any longer.

Susi's dominance was expressed most clearly in her reactions to Alfred's false accusations. She tried to get him to carry this through by teasing and exciting him further, and he was too credulous to see through the joke. At the same time, she remained cool and aloof, while Alfred got excited over the situation. Susi was typically quiet; even her antagonistic statements were never unfriendly in tone. When she maintained that she could ride a bicycle right away whereas her brother could not learn it, it was impossible to deny a tendency to belittle Alfred, though the form in which it occurred was not unfriendly.

Observer to Alfred: "You could ride your bike right away, couldn't you?"

Alfred denies this.

Susi: "I could do it right away, but Alfred couldn't."

Considering the fact that they were twins, one would have expected a more frequent occurrence of cooperative activities. Perhaps their successive activities were so frequent because Alfred's reactions were so much slower and he always fell behind. Physically and mentally he was rather slow.

Alfred: "How much farther do we have to walk?"

Observer: "Two hours."

Susi: "See that mountain? We have to climb that and go down the other side."

Alfred: "No, really, how much longer?"

Observer: "Oh, about twenty minutes."

Alfred, sighing: "I wish we were there right now."

Susi to observer: "We'll get there at 5:30, stay till 6:00, and be back at 6:30."

Alfred: "I would rather have gone for a shorter walk, two minutes to get there and two minutes to get back."

A girl whom the children dislike is coming over to play.

Susi says to the observer: "I'm going to lock myself in when she comes."

Alfred adds: "Me, too."

At the dinner table, mother asks: "Do you like this dessert, children?"

Susi: "Fine."

Alfred: "Yes, awfully good."

When the observer is winning in a game of chance, Susi says to Alfred: "Let's band together against her."

Alfred: "No, I'm independent."

Later, when Susi wins, he says to the observer: "Let's band together against Susi."

Susi remarks in the course of a game: "I'll make a new rule. You've got to shake all the dice first."

Alfred agrees, but after a minute he says: "I'll make a new rule too. You can't get up during the game."

Alfred's contacts without ulterior motive were slightly above the average in frequency (53 per cent), whereas Susi's were predominantly selfish (69 per cent).

Adults played a less important part in this relationship than in any of the others. The twins' father seldom took part in the

proceedings, and their mother only when it appeared pedagogically necessary.

In summary, it may be said that this relationship was characterized by its objectivity. Alfred was inactive and slow, maintaining contact with his twin sister only through being on her side and through communications. Susi was dominant, smart, and ahead of him because of greater maturity. She was friendly and avoided conflicts, but was not interested in Alfred and his affairs. She did not discuss her personal affairs with him, though she probably did so with her school chums. Alfred attempted to secure her as a partner, but their relationship was neither intimate nor affectionate, though fundamentally positive. This could be concluded from their defense of each other against outsiders, which is probably one of the most significant criteria of a good relationship. Susi was even more active in this respect than Alfred, and felt herself in a position of solidarity with him. She was interested in increasing his status in the eyes of others.

We have been in a position to gain information on the further development of these children two years after the observation period. Alfred's positive attitude toward his sister seems to have developed further. He now openly admires his pretty sister, his amiability has turned to unselfish servility, he is the gallant brother who always tries to do something for his sister. Susi, whose desire to be a young lady has awakened, is glad to accept his services and to let him spoil her. Her tendency to keep her brother busy for her own purposes has been intensified, and she is even more anxious than formerly to protect him against others.

V. ADA (AGE 12.2) AND RUDI (AGE 9.3)

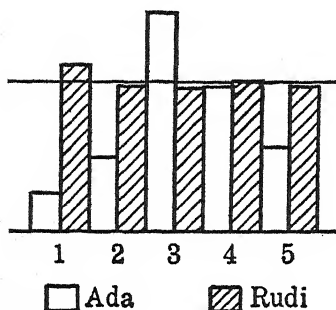
This sibling pair also showed an objective relationship, but in addition there was an emotional attitude on the girl's part which was primarily positive in content.

Rudi's attitude became clear only after a more detailed study of their mutual relations. He had an unlimited objective admiration for his sister, her opinions were absolute laws to him, and he was greatly impressed with her intellectual superiority.

Rudi fetches one of Ada's books from her closet and says to the observer: "This is Ada's favorite poet. He is Dr. Spitzer's favorite poet, too. She gave Ada this book."

Rudi takes a game out of the closet and says: "Ada made this game. She's made lots of them."

Rudi selects a verse in a book and tells the observer: "Ada wrote a theme about this poem. She can write so well that she wrote a theme about it in the first grade."



LEGEND

1. Cooperation
2. Antagonism
3. Contributive
4. Simultaneous
5. Successive

FIGURE 49.—Relations Between Ada and Rudi.

Ada in no way utilized her superiority over Rudi. She was the only one of the dominant siblings among our subjects who did not attempt to take advantage of her sibling's inferiority. In general, the practical side of life played a small part in their relationship. They held many conversations which involved abstract problems, were much interested in philosophical questions, and quite capable of theoretical discussions and arguments.

Ada discusses religious customs and problems. She tells about the monks of Tibet who build walls around themselves.

Rudi: "I'd like to know what the idea is. What is that good for?"

Observer: "The monks probably think that they are better able to think about God that way, and that this is the most important thing in life."

Ada says that these monks do not believe in God but in Nirvana, a complete annihilation after death.

Rudi: "But in India there is a religious group that believes that one comes back to earth as an animal."

Frequently, theoretical discussions developed out of everyday events.

Rudi says that his mother voted the Socialist ticket because of a handbill that had been given her.

Ada: "Politics should not be discussed in school. We don't talk about that sort of thing at all in my grade."

Rudi: "They do in ours; we all talk about it."

Rudi observes a passer-by and says to the observer: "She has bowlegs. Or you could call them novel legs."

Observer: "Why novel legs?"

Rudi: "Because they're just like a novel; first they are together, then they are separated, and finally they come together again." He accompanies this with corresponding arm and hand movements.

Ada remarks: "But there are good novels, too."

Rudi: "Yes, but they're all that way."

Regardless of the fact that their selection of topics of conversation was by no means typical for their age, the content of their mutual contacts differed from those of the other pairs of siblings. In many of the other pairs play was the center of the children's interest, while in this pair it played a subordinate part. Their objective contacts were mostly related to practical matters and they talked to each other like adults. There were almost no typically childish contacts.

The observer asks the children's mother whether she has to embroider all day long.

Mother: "Yes, but I'm glad of it, because I have a big order."

Rudi, intently: "From whom?"

Mother: "Ada knows, from auntie."

Rudi asks Ada: "What kind of an order? How many?"

Ada: "Quite a few, about three hundred schillings."

Rudi: "Good."

Statements of fact were more prevalent in their conversation than requests or wishes.

Ada repaid her brother's admiration by aiding him in practical ways and defending him against others.

The observer inspects the presents which the children are taking to their mother on Mother's Day. Ada points to a verse that Rudi has written and says: "He made that, too."

Ada shows the observer a flower which Rudi has drawn, and says: "Didn't he do that beautifully?"

When Rudi stops to pick flowers by the side of the road, Ada says: "Please let's wait for Rudi."

This type of cooperation demonstrated Ada's superiority and her greater maturity, but she failed to show any tenderness toward her brother; hence Rudi, starved for affection which he did not receive from mother or sister, turned to the observer with emotional enthusiasm.

Their antagonistic behavior never resulted from practical situations, such as play, but from their discussions. Ada imitated her mother's commanding tone when reprimanding Rudi.

Rudi climbs the wall which separates the school yard from the street.

Ada: "Rudi, come back here. The janitor calls the boys down for that every day, and still you want to climb that wall."

Rudi hastily obeys.

Rudi has bought some stationery which he drops on the way home.

Ada: "You're so clumsy, you can't even carry stationery. It is terrible how dumb you act."

They pick up the paper, which Ada carries home.

Ada notices an extra plate at Rudi's place at the table, and says: "Rudi took the lady's plate."

Observer: "No, I gave that to him myself."

Ada belittled in an objectively superior way, with Rudi taking the defensive.

During a procession, Rudi is afraid of the guns, but pictures with enthusiasm the beauties of an attack in time of war.

Ada: "Yes, and when they start shooting, you run away."

Rudi: "Oh, I'm not scared."

Somewhat later on the same occasion, Rudi says: "I'd rather stay back here."

Ada: "See, you're scared."

Rudi: "No, I'm not; but there might be an accident."

The difference in the proportion of approaches with and without ulterior motive was very slight; it amounted to 54 per cent in Ada's case and 56 per cent in Rudi's.

Their mother rarely entered the situation pedagogically, except when she needed the children's aid for something. She

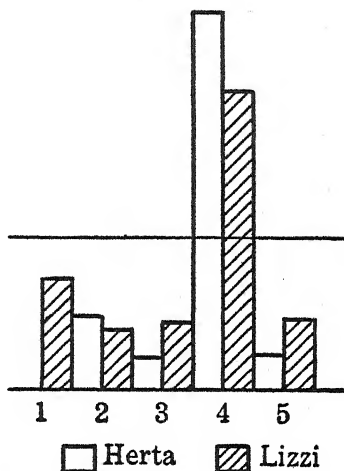
was separated from her husband, gave much time to her work, was socially lonely, impulsive, and thoughtless in her contacts with her children, and was guided throughout by her desire to have them reach independence as early as possible. Other adults who might have taken a part in the children's social life were missing.

In summary, this relationship was objective and, in a sense, based on theories. Both children were unusually independent; neither attempted to guide or to expect help from the other. Though their relationship was positive, it was not affectionate; it resembled in its frigidity the relationship between these children and their mother.

VI. HERTA AND LIZZI (TWINS, AGE 8.4)

In its basic structure, this relationship differed from any of the others. Characteristic activities were simultaneous, and occurred with unusual frequency. Compared to the simultaneous activities, everything else was unimportant. Affectively, Lizzi was primarily positive, but Herta was negative.

Their cooperative activities took the form of coordination more than of the mutual stimulation which was so typical of Berthold and Ilse. When playing, both girls repeated the same activity individually without doing it together. For example, they both played yo-yo, etc. In their relations to others, they always displayed the same form of behavior; they both ran toward their father when he came home, both embraced the



LEGEND

1. Cooperation
2. Antagonism
3. Contributive
4. Simultaneous
5. Successive

FIGURE 50.—Relations Between Herta and Lizzi.

observer, both knelt before a trunk which they were trying to open, both cried simultaneously, "We won't come," when they were asked to do something. In their imitations a certain difference between the two girls appeared, showing that Lizzi was less independent. She believed herself not as pretty and intelligent as her sister, and claimed that Herta was more popular in school. For this reason, she attempted to imitate her sister because she hoped that it would be possible to approach the latter's personality and popularity by doing things in exactly the same way. Her feeling of being inferior accounted for a rather large number of activities which betrayed rivalry (21.7 per cent). This was especially clear in her statements concerning herself, made during her primarily objective contacts with adults.

Herta, addressing the observer: "I want to be a doctor."

Lizzi: "I want to be a doctor, too."

Herta shows her aunt a booklet with pictures.

Lizzi says: "I have some too," and runs off to fetch them.

Although Lizzi felt inferior and tried to compete with her sister, she was unusually positive in all situations which involved aiding and assisting the sibling or taking her part, whereas Herta was completely passive and in no way attempted to take her sister's side. Rather, she resented it when Lizzi did things for her, which occurred frequently.

Lizzi finishes a game of skill which Herta does not understand. Lizzi goes over to her and says: "See, that goes this way."

Herta: "Go on, leave me alone. I'll do it all right." She pushes Lizzi away.

After several more unsuccessful attempts, Lizzi tells Herta again how to solve the difficulty. Again Herta declines her help, yet she proceeds by heeding the advice.

Lizzi calls out numbers in a kino game. She shows Herta the numbers on her card before Herta can find them. The latter resents this and says: "Leave me alone; I can see for myself."

Lizzi continues, over Herta's protest, to show her the numbers as they are called.

Only a few numbers remain, which Lizzi has spread out on the table in front of her. She selects such numbers as she has seen on Herta's card and calls her attention to it when the latter overlooks a number.

Herta complains: "Lizzi is picking the numbers out."

Mother: "That isn't right; you've got to call them the way they come."

In this relationship there were no instances of affectionate behavior between the two sisters. While Lizzi attempted to adjust herself in every possible way to Herta, the latter was often unfriendly. She frequently repelled her sister and belittled her. Questions of property rights played an important part in their antagonistic activities.

The twins showed few objective contacts. When objective problems occurred, Herta played the leading part. Lizzi wanted to be communicative and often approached her sister, who then rebuffed her by being extremely disinterested and passive.

Both children showed a preponderance of contacts with ulterior motives, which amounted to 80 per cent for Herta and 59 per cent for Lizzi.

Their parents, both of whom were working, entered their lives only for pedagogical reasons and provided a moderate amount of general guidance rather than influencing the twin relationship as such.

This relationship was remarkable because of the absence of any real intimacy between the children, though their activities were identical to a marked degree. Affection, which is so typical of twins, was completely lacking, even when they took each other's part before strangers. Herta especially was quite uninterested in contacts, except in situations when she could use Lizzi or when the latter irritated her. The parents contributed nothing to improve their relations, nor did they support the weaker Lizzi in any way.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY OF SIBLING RELATIONS

CERTAIN general conclusions may be drawn from the material presented in this section, though it should again be emphasized that these conclusions apply only to our six sibling pairs and should not be considered generally valid statements. The structure of these relations may be considered from different angles, including the affective structure and its causal factors, the objective content, the formal structure, and the mutual relations between this social unit and the outside world.

The Affective Structure.—Three of the six sibling relations were definitely based on affective attitudes, while the three others were different in this respect. The relations between Gertrud and Steffi and between Ilse and Berthold were emotionally positive and extremely happy, having affection and friendship as their basis. At the same time, these two sibling pairs enjoyed the most affectionate and friendly relations with their parents. The relation between Erna and Käthe was emotionally negative, at least from Erna's side, and was definitely unfavorable. The relation between Ada and Rudi had no affective basis, but contained mutual friendship. These two sibling pairs maintained unfavorable relations with their parents because of the elimination of the father and the fact that their mothers' contacts with them completely lacked warmth and understanding. Both mothers were much more concerned with household and economic problems than with the welfare of their children, and they were lacking in understanding. Though these sibling relations were frigid, one of them was positive and the other negative in its basic attitude.

The relations between Lizzi and Herta and between Susi

and Alfred stood out because of their extreme frigidity. When affective aspects entered and friendliness or unfriendliness was noticeable, the latter relation appeared to have a positive, the former a negative basic attitude. In both families any intimacy between parents and children was lacking. In fact, the parents were together with their children so infrequently that for this reason it was not possible to accumulate adequate material concerning parent-child relations, since observations would have had to be extended over many months to include the few situations which these parents had in common with their children.

The Objective Content.—Each of the six sibling relations showed a different objective content, by which is meant the actual activities and interests of the children as expressed in their social relations with each other. They included playing and working together, mutual stimulation, correcting and helping each other, exchange of views, etc. The relation between Ilse and Berthold was the richest in this respect. Ilse provided stimulation, Berthold assistance; their exchange of views was intensive and joint participation in all games was taken as a matter of course. Their community of interests was most complete. The other five relations were somewhat more limited in objective content. Ada and Gertrud played more the part of adults than of playmates in their relations with their younger siblings, because of significant age differences. They assisted and instructed the younger ones and received recognition in return, but not stimulation and friendship on an equal basis. The frequent objective exchange of views between Rudi and Ada took the form of instruction more than of clarifying one's own point of view or confiding in each other. Even in the case of one pair of twins, Susi's maturity was so much more advanced than Alfred's that he had to play the same rôle that a younger brother would have. She found him useful, but not as a partner with equal rights. The considerable age difference between Erna and Käthe prevented the development of a typical relationship between the two. Because of her negative attitude toward Käthe, Erna neither was a help to her nor did she consider her an object of

instruction and stimulation. Only because these sisters did everything together except housework did Käthe receive some objective stimulation from her older sister by imitating her. The objective relationship of Lizzi and Herta was equally restricted. These girls stimulated each other, albeit not explicitly.

The Formal Structure.—In none of the six sibling relations were both children partners with equal rights and privileges, but in each case one was in some way dominant. The older child was in this position in four cases, and the sister was dominant in our pair of twins of different sex. This dominance was expressed in different ways. Erna, and to a certain extent Herta also, dominated in an unfriendly way, and Ilse and Susi utilized their positions in a selfish manner; Gertrud used hers to mother her brother, while Ada's superiority was passive and mental rather than active. Ada's position was due to greater maturity and intelligence and found occasional expression in educational and critical tendencies.

Dominance with an unfriendly tendency was shown especially by the absence of any indication of a positive attitude toward one's sibling, in the form of taking his part, aiding him in some manner, displaying a positive interest in him, etc. Besides, it was expressed, especially by Erna, in aggressive unfriendliness, belittling, harming and taking advantage of the sibling; or, as Herta did, in a high-handed resisting of the sibling's approaches and an ostentatious lack of interest in him. In either case, the relations between the siblings were, of course, unfavorable.

Dominance with selfish tendencies, as found in Ilse and Susi, was characterized by utilizing the sibling to one's advantage, by organizing and steering, and by attempting to maintain a relationship as free from friction as possible in order to insure the sibling's willingness to be directed. The two cases which we observed showed a positive tendency on the part of the dominant sibling, which transcended his own self-interest. This became evident in a number of expressions and activities which clearly manifested a feeling of solidarity.

Dominance with a tendency to mother was found in only one case. Gertrud's attitude was educational, instructive and help-

ful; when she opposed her sister, it was a matter of self-defense. She alone of the children in this group was definitely affectionate toward her sister.

Ada's intellectual and pedagogical superiority was expressed in her conversations, her habit of setting an example for her brother, and her criticism of his shortcomings.

Submissiveness also found expression in a variety of ways. Rudi, Lizzi and Alfred chose a receptive attitude, Berthold a subservient one, Käthe was passive, and Steffi active and demanding.

The receptive attitude manifested itself in a primarily positive response to the partner's approaches, even when they were negative, by the desire to establish contact (expressed in objective and personal conversations), and by the desire to participate in the partner's activities, which often took the form of imitation.

The subservient attitude was distinguished, in addition to the above characteristics, by a desire to be of active service to the dominant sibling. Käthe's passive attitude, in which ignoring unfriendly approaches was typical, also contained the elements of the receptive attitude, sometimes even in quite unmistakable form (positive responses to negative approaches, frequent imitations).

Steffi's active and demanding attitude was really not typical. This two-and-one-half-year-old girl reacted to her sister in the same way as to other persons in her environment. She asked questions because she happened to be at the questioning age, she demanded help because she was little and clumsy, she was affectionate because all children of this age seek affection, and it was a matter of indifference to her to whom her demands were addressed. It seems that when a child of her age has a relationship with a sister who is four years her senior, this relation differs little from that with adults.

Some types of behavior were observed with greater frequency in either dominant or submissive children, while others occurred more generally among both types.

Specific behavior forms of the dominant child included:

- a. Opposition (belittling,¹ critical pedagogical measures, defensive protection of property).
- b. Contributive (organization, stimulation, desire for help and advice, instruction, discussing the sibling).

Specific types of approaches used by the dominant child were:

- a. Opposition (taking objects away, appealing to adults, irony, sarcasm).
- b. Contributive (proposing, demanding, deciding).
- c. Cooperation (pointing out the sibling's achievements, stimulation and consolation, taking the sibling's side).

Specific behavior forms of the submissive child included:

- a. Successive (imitating primarily objective contacts with adults and reactions).
- b. Contributive (discussing objective situations).

Specific methods of approach used by submissive children were:

- a. Opposition (pushing aside, defending, accusing and blaming²).
- b. Contributive (questioning, looking on).

General types of behavior observed in both types included:

- a. Successive (imitating primarily social approaches to adults and demands on adults).
- b. Contributive (joking, talking about one's plans, joint activities).
- c. Cooperation (helping, protecting the sibling's rights, affection).

General forms of approaches observed in both types were:

- a. Opposition (pushing away, refusing, warning, forbidding).
- b. Contributive (asking, telling).

¹ Rudi was the only submissive child who belittled his dominant sibling.

² Erna was the only dominant child displaying these antagonistic forms of behavior.

c. Cooperation (giving something, doing something for the sibling, physical contact).

We found in our material that dominance was determined by the child's maturity. In the case of Lizzi and Herta, where no age difference existed, Lizzi's submissiveness was based on the fact—which she often repeated—that she considered herself not as pretty and smart as her sister and less capable of making friends. She was receptive to her sister, but the latter repelled her approaches.

Dominance appeared to be based on factual superior ability of the sibling who was older, more mature, or more skillful, or who otherwise appeared to be better equipped by nature for this position, rather than on indirect conditions such as differences in social position or other secondary advantages. This agrees with the previously observed fact, that children have a clear conception of their own personal importance and seldom deceive themselves in this respect.³

Alfred Adler called attention to the part played by the child's position in the family. According to his thesis, the oldest, youngest and middle child have certain advantages and disadvantages connected with their positions. Though this idea is undoubtedly important, its significance and general validity are not yet a scientific fact. Adolf Busemann has investigated the pros and cons of the factor of position in the family as well as of the factor of family size, also brought up by Adler.⁴ The American literature especially contains many studies of these problems, which by their lack of agreement have served mainly to emphasize the complexity of the question.⁵

On the basis of our own data, we have been unable to find an explanation of individual sibling relations in the factor of the child's position in the family. Especially unfavorable positions were maintained by Käthe, Alfred, and Lizzi. Käthe was the youngest child, Alfred and Lizzi were one of a pair of twins.

³ Karl Reininger, "Das soziale Verhalten von Schulanfängerinnen" (The Social Behavior of Newcomers in School), *Wiener Arbeiten zur pädagogischen Psychologie*, 1929.

⁴ Summary in *Pädagogische Milieukunde*, Frankfurt, 1931.

⁵ Charlotte Bühler, *From Birth to Maturity*.

Free and unhampered relations existed between Gertrud and Steffi, Ilse and Berthold, Ada and Rudi, who occupied different positions in the family and whose age differences also varied. In addition, Steffi was so spoiled that it might have been expected that Gertrud would have been jealous of her. It appears, however, that this was not the case because of their father's vivid interest in her, the special relations between him and his elder daughter, and the general friendliness of the family spirit. One might have expected that Berthold would have been oppressed by Ilse's dominance, but he appeared rather as her enthusiastic supporter. On the other hand, Erna's position was especially unfavorable, although she should have been in a favorable position, being the middle child in the family. This discrepancy was caused by the fact that her mother demanded much more of her than of the older brother. She was treated as if she had been the oldest child who had to help the adults carry their burdens. Unquestionably, then, in these relations it was not the formal factor of family position, but individual factors which determined the favorable or unfavorable position of the individual child. Such factors were based primarily on the pedagogically right or wrong treatment experienced from the parents.

The Relations to the Outside World.—While the affective, objective, and formal structures of a relationship characterize it internally, its external character is determined by its relations with the outside world. This is undoubtedly of the greatest importance to the affective structure of the relationship and to the position of the child in it. Harmony and warmth, or coolness and lack of coordination of parent-child relations, had a clearly observable influence on sibling relations. A final question is how this social unity is related to the outside world.

A particularly unified aspect was presented by the relation between Ilse and Berthold. There was no situation in which one did not take the other's part before the outside world, either playfully or seriously, and in which their solidarity with each other was not considered more important than individual profit. It was never possible for adults to come between them, for they always maintained their unity to outsiders. This was true also

of the relationships between Susi and Alfred and between Ada and Rudi. Gertrud and Steffi maintained a more playful solidarity, but as a small child Steffi often opposed her sister by taking the adult's side. The relations between Erna and Käthe and between Herta and Lizzi showed a marked lack of solidarity. The weaker child's attempts at solidarity were repulsed by the dominant sibling, who surrendered the other to the adult at any moment. Adults could come between the two without encountering any resistance.

Comparing these situations with the family as a whole, we find that the solidarity of parents and children was also maintained by the children among themselves in the case of Ilse and Berthold, and of Gertrud and Steffi. The solidarity of the Burian family was not carried over to the relations between Erna and Käthe for emotional reasons. While the parents completely lacked solidarity with Susi and Alfred, Lizzi and Herta, the situation between the children was different. In the Fabian family, Ada and Rudi established solidarity with their mother, which she did not bring about herself.

The children, then, were unquestionably creative and independent in bringing solidarity into their relations, and did not simply reflect family conditions.

It might be well to emphasize once more that the data presented in this book have primarily methodological significance and should be considered merely as incentives for further investigations. These, we believe, would lead to results of inestimable value to the pedagogy of family life.

APPENDIX

THE PROBLEM OF OBEDIENCE

By SOPHIE GEDEON

In an attempt to discover the relation between obedience and the treatment which children received at home, instances of disobedience were expressed in a percentage of the children's total reactions, and instances of strict or harsh treatment in a percentage of the parents' total approaches to the children. This permits the arrangement of our material as in the accompanying rank-order table.

TABLE I.—RANK ORDER OF OBEDIENCE AND STRICT TREATMENT

Instances of Disobedience		Instances of Strict Treatment	
Name	Per Cent	Name	Per Cent
Erna	27.6	Hans	14.3
Hans	30.0	Gertrud	18.4
Gertrud	30.8	Berthold	22.2
Berthold	31.4	Ilse	23.6
Heinz	33.4	Erna	25.5
Rudi	38.9	Heinz	30.6
Ilse	50.0	Rudi	40.0
Käthe	53.1	Käthe	43.1

The coefficient of correlation between these two distributions was $r = .75$, indicating a considerable positive correlation between obedience and absence of strict treatment.

If the two most diverging cases of Ilse and Erna are eliminated, the coefficient of correlation is increased to 1.00, indicating that in each case this close relation between treatment and obedience existed. The two exceptions to this rule have much in common. They are not only children, and their siblings are very different from them in their behavior. Whereas Erna was unusually obedient, her sister Käthe was the most disobedient child in our group; and while Ilse

was very disobedient, her brother Berthold was average in this respect. In respect to parental treatment, Ilse was in approximately the same condition as her brother, while Erna was treated much more strictly than she deserved, primarily because of insufficient differentiation from her disobedient sister Käthe. These differences in treatment may be explained by referring back to the characterological analysis of the parents involved which was undertaken above.

The reason why Erna remained obedient and Ilse disobedient lies undoubtedly in the feeling of solidarity existing between Ilse and her brother on one hand, and Erna and her mother on the other.

The effectiveness of strict as compared to lenient treatment follows from Table II.

TABLE II.—THE EFFECTIVENESS OF STRICT AND LENIENT TREATMENT

Treatment	Effective	Not Effective
Lenient	69.8%	30.2%
Strict	50.9%	49.1%

It follows from this tale that lenient treatment was, in general, more effective than strict measures. A further analysis of this general statement follows.

1. *Sex.*—The effectiveness of strict and lenient treatment in individual cases may be seen from Table III, in which the material has been grouped according to the sex of the children involved.

TABLE III.—INDIVIDUAL EFFECTIVENESS OF STRICT AND LENIENT TREATMENT

Girls			Boys		
Name	Strict (Per cent effective)	Lenient	Name	Strict (Per cent effective)	Lenient
Ilse	66.6	48.1	Rudi	47.6	69.7
Erna	53.3	81.2	Berthold	57.1	74.1
Käthe	50.0	45.2	Hans	33.3	74.1
Gertrud	76.9	67.3	Heinz	36.4	81.6
Average	59.6	62.0	Average	42.9	75.5

Evidently, lenient treatment was much more effective in the case of the boys than was strict treatment, whereas there was little differ-

ence in the case of the girls. Strict treatment was more effective in the case of girls than of boys.

Two explanations are possible, and the truth probably consists of a combination of these two.

- a. Boys resent strict treatment more than girls.
- b. Parents are more likely to use strict methods when they anticipate resistance. Boys tend to be more persistent in their resistance than girls.

2. *Amenability*.—The coefficient of correlation between the individual effectiveness of strict and lenient measures was $-.43$, meaning that in those cases where lenient treatment was relatively effective, strict measures were relatively ineffective.

On the other hand, the coefficient of correlation between the effectiveness of strict treatment and the degree of strict treatment received by individual children was $+.21$, which indicates that strict measures were slightly more effective in the case of children who were habitually treated with greater strictness.

3. *Age*.—The coefficient of correlation between age and individual effectiveness of strict measures was found to be $.00$; hence we must conclude that in our group of subjects age was not a determining factor in this respect.

The problem of the manner in which disobedience was expressed, and the conditions under which each type of expression was chosen next received our attention. The following types of expression were found:

A. *Negative arguments* (talking back).

1. No sex differences were found in our group. The percentages of negative arguments, in relation to total negative reactions, were 26.5 for the girls and 27.4 for the boys.

2. The coefficient of correlation between age and frequency of negative arguments was $+.90$, which indicates that this type of disobedience was in our group definitely connected with the age of the child and that the younger children talked back less frequently than the older ones.

3. The relation between frequency of negative arguments and extent of disobedience was expressed by the coefficient of correlation $r = +.18$, which means that there was only a slight tendency for less obedient children to choose this type of reaction.

B. Ignoring.

1. Girls showed more preference for this method of expressing disobedience than did boys, as shown in the percentages 46.0 and 32.8, respectively. It should be noted that the average ages of the boys and girls were very similar (8.7 and 8.6, respectively).

2. It appears that in our group age was an important factor in the selection of this particular form of expressing disobedience. The coefficient of correlation between age and frequency of ignoring was $-.71$, indicating that the younger children preferred this easier method of expressing disobedience. With increasing age, "talking back" seems to take the place of ignoring. The former, of course, requires more critical ability and a greater mental development than the latter.

3. The relation between frequency of this choice of reaction and extent of disobedience in individual cases was indicated by the coefficient of correlation $r = +.48$, and was undoubtedly lower than would have been the case if the important factor of age could have been held constant. To do this, we need a considerably larger body of material.

C. Avoidance.

1. Girls were less apt to choose this form of disobedience than boys, as expressed in the percentages 17.1 and 31.5, respectively.

2. The coefficient of correlation between age and frequency of avoidance was $.48$, showing a moderately distinct tendency on the part of older children to prefer this method of disobedience.

3. Less disobedient children tended strongly to prefer this method of reaction, as shown in a coefficient of correlation of $-.60$ between extent of disobedience and frequency of avoidance. This, then, appears to be a more important factor than age in choosing this form of disobedience.

The relative preference for these types of disobedience is shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV.—PREFERENCE FOR CERTAIN FORMS OF DISOBEDIENCE

	Negative Arguments	Ignoring	Avoidance	Defense
Girls	26.3	46.0	17.1	10.5
Boys	27.4	32.8	31.5	8.2
Group	26.8	39.5	24.2	9.4

The extent to which the chosen form of disobedience depended on different factors may be seen from a summary of the correlations computed above.

TABLE V.—CORRELATIONS BETWEEN AGE AND EXTENT OF
DISOBEDIENCE AND TYPES OF DISOBEDIENCE

Factor	Negative Arguments	Ignoring	Avoidance
Age	+.90	-.71	+.48
Disobedience	+.18	-.48	-.60

Negative arguments apparently depend for their frequency primarily on age, as does ignoring, whereas avoidance reactions depend more on the extent of the disobedience. Or, stated differently, the age of the child is an important factor in his choice of negative arguments and ignoring as expressions of disobedience, while the extent of his disobedience tends to determine in part his choice of avoidance and ignoring reactions.

INDEX

- Activities, 11-14, 58
 contributive, 120, 121, 123, 125-126, 138, 155
 joint, 14, 15, 68, 115, 117, 125, 126, 127, 140, 153, 154; contents of, 128
 objective center of 12-14, 15
 person, as object of, 14
 simultaneous, 116, 117-118, 121, 123, 129, 148
 successive, 117, 118, 121, 123, 129
 "Activity as a Psychological Unit," 11 n.
 Adler, Alfred, 175
 Affection, 93, 100, 101, 108, 111, 143-148, 167, 169, 170, 173
 in family atmosphere, 69, 71, 83, 100
 Age difference, 131, 137, 142, 145-146, 171, 175
 of parents, 8
 Aggressiveness, 131, 135, 152
 Ambros family, 6-7, 60-71, 82
 Antagonism, 129, 131-143, 151, 159, 160-161, 164, 167, 169; *see also* Opposition
 means of expressing, 134
 resulting from discussions, 166
 Appreciation, 18, 163
 Approaches, 14, 28; *see also* Two-phased contact
 by children, 27, 61, 66, 154
 by mothers, 52
 friendly or unfriendly, 115
 ignoring of, 43
 number of, 47, 52
 parental, 27, 61, 66
 showing self-interest, other-interest, disinterest, 120
 shown graphically, 61, 74, 75, 84, 91, 97, 101
 used by dominant child, 174
 used by submissive child, 174
 Arguing, 40-41, 55, 57
 Attitude expressed by contact, 16-20
 overt, 17
 protective, 143
 with other children, 115
 Attitudes of child and family, 14
 Authority, 62, 65-66
 emphasis on, 47
 Avoidance, positive, negative, and neutral, 42
 Baar, Edeltrud, 14 n., 15 n., 96 n.
 Bargaining, 41, 55, 57
 Behavior forms, of dominant child, 173-174
 of submissive child, 174
 Behaviorists, 11
 Belittling, 41, 56, 118, 124, 127, 132, 161, 166, 169, 172
 Biological situations, 16, 28, 29, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 60, 61, 63, 74, 75, 82, 84, 91, 97, 101
 Bodily contacts, 70-71, 154-155
 Bühler, Brunswik, and Thumb, 24 n.
 Bühler, Charlotte, 11 n., 28, 119 n., 175 n.
 Burian family, 7-8, 27, 71-82, 106, 110, 177
 Busemann, Adolf, 175
 Cermak family, 8, 82-90, 111
 Changing subject, 41, 57
 Character development, 2, 11
 peculiarity of, 143
 Charitable intentions, 19, 29, 30, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 66, 73, 85, 92, 98, 102
Child Life, 119 n.
Child Psychology, 23 n.
 Classification, 110, 120-123
 method of, 121-123, 130-131
 Condescension, 157

- Conflict, 64-65, 69, 152
 settlement of, 160
- Contacts, 14
 classification of, 14-20
 distinctions between, 19
 distribution of, 83, 148
 initiation of, by child, 14-15
 means of establishing, 15, 28, 33-35,
 57-59, 68, 71, 79, 80, 86, 88, 91, 93
 non-verbal 33, 34, 69-70, 127-128
 number of, 21-22, 50, 51
 phases of, 20
 purpose and attitude of, 16-20
 sibling, adult's rôle in, 128-129, 148;
 characteristics of, 123-129; pri-
 mary tendencies, 123-126; second-
 ary tendencies, 126-127; verbal
 and non-verbal, 127-128
 situations involving, 16
 theme of, 15, 44
 verbal, 127-128, 159-160
- Conversations, 6, 10, 14, 33, 35, 44, 58,
 61, 68, 79, 80, 83, 86, 88, 93, 96,
 99, 103, 109, 117, 125, 127, 164-
 165, 173
 contents of, between siblings, 128
- Cooperation, 94, 100, 117, 119, 120,
 121, 123, 124, 143, 148, 154, 159,
 160, 162, 164, 166, 167
 expressions of, 124
 means of, 145
- Criticism, 71, 83, 86, 100, 101, 151, 173
- Danziger-Schenk, Lotte, 27
 "Das soziale Verhalten von Schul-
 neulingen," 175 n.
- Demanding attitude, 173
- Dependence, 159, 168
- Desire for approval, 17-18
- "Development of the Institutional
 Child, The," 14 n.
- "Die Entwicklung des Kindes in der
 Anstalt," 14 n.
- "Die geistige Welt des Schulkindes,"
 14 n., 96 n.
- Direct answers, 37
 augmenting adult's approach, 37
- Direct guidance, 68
- Direction of reaction, 35-44
- Disagreement between adults, 9
- Disobedience, 178
 expression of, 180-182; avoidance,
 181; ignoring, 181; negative ar-
 guments, 180
- Domestic activities, 16, 17, 28, 29, 45,
 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 60, 61, 67,
 72, 74, 75, 77, 82, 84, 91, 97, 100,
 101, 106, 110
- Dominance, 137, 151, 157, 161, 164,
 172, 173-175, 176
- Dostal family, 8, 91-96
- Economic intentions, 19, 29, 30, 46,
 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 66, 73, 85,
 92, 98, 102
- Economic welfare, 110
- Educational technique, 68, 69, 77,
 86, 97-98, 100, 108
 consistency in, 90
 negative, 82
 positive, 100
- Embarrassment, 43
- Emotion, and evaluation, 34, 35, 56,
 59
 negative, 170
- Emotional atmosphere, 105, 110, 138,
 159, 163, 177
- Encouraging, 34, 55, 58
- Environment, adult, for children, 79
 conversations concerning, 146
 stimulation provided by, 14
 struggle with, 93
 unfavorable, 82
- Erhardt family, 8, 96-100
- Erotic matters, interest in, 158
- Evaluation as means of contact, 68,
 79, 80, 86, 88, 93, 99, 103
- Evasion, active, 42, 55, 57, 70, 71, 81,
 87, 94, 99, 104
- Excelling, 127
- Excusing and explaining, 39-40, 55, 56
- Fabian family, 9, 100-108, 177
- Families studied, characteristics of,
 4-5
 description of, 6-9
 type of, 3
- Family life, social structure of, 1-2,
 48-52, 66, 96
 as child-centered organization, 60-
 71, 108

- Family life—(*Continued*)
 as educational institution, 92-96, 108-109
 as household-centered organization, 60-71, 108
 as social unit, 83-90, 109
 as struggle for existence, 100-108, 110
 Family spirit, friendliness of, 69, 71, 176
 Father, influence of, 52, 53, 54, 60, 61, 62, 63, 82, 89, 96, 98, 157, 162, 169, 176
 Fields of activity, 28
 Frankl, Liselotte, 15 n.
 Friendship, 170, 171
 Frigidity, 93, 110, 170-171
From Birth to Maturity, 11 n., 119 n., 175 n.
 Gärtner family, 9
 Gedeon, Sophie, 27, 35 n., 178
 Gratitude, 76-77
 Greetings and affectionate approaches, 33, 35, 58, 68, 79, 80, 86, 88, 93, 99, 103
 Hart family, 9
Hdb. d. päd. Milieukunde, 14 n.
 Hetzer, Hildegard, 14 n., 24
 Household, as center of family interest, 109
 individual members of, 52-54
 Household activities. *See* Domestic activities.
 Humor, 93, 95, 157
 Imagination, 154, 158
 Imitation, 116, 117, 149, 156, 166, 173
 Independence, development of, 67, 70, 111, 140, 146, 167, 177
 Indifferent attitude, maintaining, 41, 137
 Individual members of household, rôle of, 52-54
 Influencing behavior, 34, 35, 58, 68, 79, 80, 86, 88, 93, 99, 103
 Interpretation of data and classification of activities, 11-14; *see also* Classification
 agreement of, 28
 differences in, 23, 120
 Leadership, 157, 158, 159, 160
 Lenient and strict treatment, effectiveness of, 179
 analyzed according to age, 180
 analyzed according to amenability, 180
 analyzed according to sex, 179-180
 "Lohn und Strafe in der Familien-erziehung," 15 n.
 Manners, emphasis on, 50, 52
 ignoring of, 78
 supervision of, 98
 Material used in study, 6-10
 activities and conversations, 6
 Means of establishing contacts, 15, 28, 33-35, 57-59
 shown graphically, 68, 79, 80, 86, 88, 91, 93, 99, 103
 used by children, 35, 68, 79, 80
 used by parents, 33-34
 Method of study, 2-3, 6, 17, 20
 "Methodological Problems in Child Psychology," 24 n.
 Mothering, 145, 147, 157, 172
 Mother's part in child's life, 53, 163, 169
 Multi-phased contact, 20-21
 Negative attitude, 159, 171
 Non-observable effects of approach, 42, 43
 Obedience, relation of, to treatment at home, 178
 Objective content, 159, 160, 163, 167, 171-172
 Objective discussion, 117, 126, 147
 Objective intentions, 156, 168
 recognition of, 36
 variations of, 19
 Objective interests, 154, 158, 171
 Objective means, 33, 35, 58, 68, 79, 80, 86, 88, 93, 99, 103
 Objective responses, 37-38
 Observation, duration of, 21-22, 47
 Opposition, 117-118, 120, 121, 123-124, 133; *see also* Antagonism
 expressions of, 124-125

- Organizational intentions, 19, 29, 30, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 62, 65, 73, 85, 92, 98, 102, 157
- Outranking, 127
- Outside world, relations to, 176-177
situations in, 16, 28, 29, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 60, 61, 74, 75, 83, 84, 91, 96, 97, 101, 110, 111
- Pädagogische Milieukunde*, 175 n.
- Parent-child relations, 6, 7, 11, 19-20, 60-111
characteristics of, 27-44
contact situations in, 45, 48, 50
influence on sibling relations, 176
purposes of, 45-52
unfavorable, 143, 170-171
- Passive attitude, 173
- Pedagogical intentions, 19, 29, 44, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 56, 61, 62, 66, 71, 72, 73, 85, 92, 98, 102, 157, 163, 169
- Personality differences, 159
- Play activities, 16, 28, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 60, 61, 62, 63, 72, 74, 75, 84, 91, 97, 101, 110, 117
functional and fictional, 159
- Position of child in family, 175-176
- Poznanska, Adela, 24
- Practicality, 78, 82, 108, 156, 164, 165
- Prevented reaction, 42, 43
- Procedure of collecting information, 9-10
- Property rights, 101
- Psychoanalysts, 17
- Psychological units, 11, 12
- Psychologists, 23-24, 120
- Purpose of contact, 16-20, 28, 29, 38, 45-46, 48, 50, 53, 54
overt, 17, 23; conversational, 19;
desire for approval, 17-18; recognition, 18
shown graphically, 66, 73, 85, 92, 98, 102
- Quellen und Studien zur Jugendkunde*, 14 n., 15 n.
- Reaction, avoidance, 39, 42, 44, 54, 55, 56, 70, 97, 104; citing obstacles, 39; making excuses, 39-40; wanting further information, 39, 55, 56
definition of term, 35
direction of, 35-44
interpretation of, 38
mixed, 39
negative, 38-39, 44, 54, 55, 56, 94, 152
of parents and children, 54-57, 81
positive, 36-38, 44, 54, 55, 56, 71, 83
to false accusations, 161
zero, 42-43, 44, 54, 55, 56, 71, 135, 142, 151
See also Response to stimulus.
- Receptive attitude, 68, 173, 175
- Reflexes, 11
- Reininger, Karl, 175 n.
- Reliability, of interpretation, 22-23
of records, 10-11, 120-123
- Respect, of child for parent, 62
of parent for child, 100
- Response to stimulus, 12, 14, 19, 28
See also Two-phased contact.
- Responsibility, 109
- "Reward and Punishment in Home Training," 15 n.
- Rivalry, 117, 118, 127, 129, 140, 156, 168
lack of, 156
- School and school work, 16, 28, 29, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 60, 61, 70, 74, 75, 82, 84, 88, 89, 91, 97, 98, 101, 110
exaggerated importance of, 50-52
- Self-assertion, 118, 119, 120, 121
- Self-consciousness, 76
- Self-control, 105
- "Self-Criticism and Its Development," 119 n.
- Self-defense, 40, 55, 56, 57, 160, 173
- Selfishness, 100, 162, 172
- Self-justification, 40
- Sibling relations, 6, 7, 11, 20, 115-129, 131-177
adult's rôle in, 128-129
affective structure of, 170-171
antagonism in, 127, 129, 159, 160-161, 164, 166, 167, 169
characteristic tendencies of, 115-120
defense of each other, 163

- Sibling relations—(*Continued*)
dominance in, 157, 161, 164, 172
formal structure of, 172-176
relations to outside world, 176-177
shown graphically, 132, 133, 134,
135, 138, 141, 144, 145, 149, 150,
160, 164, 167
unfavorable, 142, 172
Similarity of behavior of children and
parents, 47
Situations in which contact is estab-
lished, 16, 17-19, 28-33, 44-52, 53-
54
distribution of, 44, 54
Sociability, 96, 100
"Social Behavior of Newcomers in
School, The, 175 n.
Social intentions, 19, 29, 46, 48, 49,
50, 51, 53, 54, 66, 73, 85, 92, 98,
102
Social intercourse, 16, 18-19, 28, 29,
36, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53,
54, 74, 75, 83, 84, 86, 91, 97, 100,
101, 109, 110, 152
with objective aim, 36
Solidarity, 149, 176-177, 179
Sports, in education, 89
Stimulation, different kinds of, 14
mutual, 171, 172
Stoddart, G. D., and Wellman, B. L.,
23
Strained relations of parents, 9
Struggle for existence, 110, 120
Sturm, Martha, 14 n.
Subjective reaction, 43
Submissiveness, 175
varied expressions of, 173
Subservient attitude, 173
Sun in the Mountains, 89
Theme of contacts, 15, 44
Tricks, use of, 34, 55, 59, 64, 68-69, 94
Two-phased contact, 20
Ultterior motives, 126, 131, 140, 141,
148, 157, 162, 166, 169
Unfriendliness, 76, 92, 131, 136, 139,
146, 172
*Wiener Arbeiten zur pädagogischen
Psychologie*, 175 n.